A

SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY

THROUGH

GREECE.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

WRITTEN FROM CONSTANTINOPLE;

BY M. DE GUYS

OF THE

ACADEMY OF MARSEILLES,

TO

M. BOURLAT DE MONTREDON,

AT PARIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

NATURA GRÆCOS DOCUIT, UT IPSI CÆTEROS.

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LETTERS ON GREECE.

LETTER XXIII.

Commerce and Navigation of the Greeks.

SIR,

YOU will imagine, and not without reaſon, that a man who propoſes to undertake a journey through ancient and modern Greece, with Homer and Pauſanias in his hand, would not neglect, among the reſt of his reſearches, to make ſome enquiry into the ſtate of induſtry and commerce in a nation he has taken ſo much pains to make you acquainted with.---You may

now expect I ſhould enter into a detail of thoſe articles, according to the mode of compariſon I have always adopted in the proſecution of this correſpondence.

The Greeks who received their ſciences, arts, fables, and romances, from Egypt, with that attachment alſo to ancient cuſtoms, which ſtill diſtinguiſhes the Egyptians; imbibed alſo their inclination for maritime commerce; and have, in their turn, at different periods of time given the like inſtructions to the Romans.

The Greeks ſet out as formerly, embarking upon ſhort voyages, and as their correſpondence increaſes, extend their dealings to remoter parts. Their men of property are generally engaged in commercial purſuits.—It is true that this people have not yet arrived at ſuch profound knowledge in the art of trade as to be able, like ourſelves, to treat of it in a ſcientific manner, or to furniſh any books on that ſubject; nevertheleſs, guided by experience, and following the ſteps of former adventurers, they carry on their affairs with great gain to themſelves

themſelves. They have a public place or exchange, where, like their anceſtors, they make contracts, and tranſact every other branch of commerce.

In reading the hiſtory of Greece by ancient authors, you will find the names of the great perſonages of antiquity enrolled among the ſons of commerce; The ſage Thales, Plato, Hippocrates, and the legiſlator Solon, had all been merchants; Zeno, chief of the ſtoics, was the ſon of a Cyprian merchant; Sappho, the ſiſter of Charaxus a dealer in wine. It was a travelling merchant who firſt diſcovered the value of Homer's poems *, and took the pains to collect them. In a word, Heſiod gives leſſons to his brother on the article of commerce §.

If Herodotus is to be credited, the Lydians were the firſt who coined gold and ſilver †.

* Plutarch's life of Solon. *Hiſtoire Critique de la Philoſophie, t. 2. 2. 402. Vie d'Homere, par Madame Dacier. Vie de Sappho par la meme.*

§ The Abbe Bergier has lately favoured the world with a French tranſlation of this poem.

† Herodot. l. 1.

The cuſtom of merchants aſſembling in ſome public place for the purpoſes of traffic, is of very ancient date in Greece. We learn this from Herodotus, by the anſwer of Cyrus to the Spartan ambaſſadors. "* I "have never," ſaid he, "entertained the "leaſt fear of thoſe men, who have in "their city an exchange, where they "aſſemble to deceive each other by the "groſſeſt perjuries." Theſe words, ſays the ſame author, alluded to the Greeks, in general; for every city in Greece had ſome place appropriated to the like purpoſes.

What Cyrus mentions concerning the perjuries of the merchants, refers to the ancient method of making bargains, ſtill in practice among the Greeks. As ſoon as the buyer and ſeller come to an agreement, the manager or broker, joins their hands together, which is of the ſame efficacy with an oath, in binding the bargain. In conformity to this practiſe, we find engraved on the ancient monuments, and particularly on the intaglios

* Herodot. l. 1.

intaglios two hands united, which were, doubtleſs, deſigned as the emblem of commerce *.

This cuſtom is not confined merely to the Greeks; we find it in all nations where any traces remain of the plain dealing and honeſty of the ancients.

Herodotus tells us, the Carthaginians informed him there was a place in Africa, on the other ſide of Hercules' pillars, where merchants carried their veſſels. They clear them of their loading, ſays he, ſpread the ſeveral articles of merchandize upon the ſhore, return to their ſhips, and make large fires, in order

* If M. Mariett had been an eye-witneſs of what is practiſed in Greece, he would not have neglected in the learned explanations he has given us of ſeveral intaglios, and of thoſe figures which were the ſymbols of agreement and good faith in matters of commerce, to mention that where the two hands joined, they repreſented a bargain concluded between two merchants in preſence of Mercury. See *Traité des Pierres Gravées*, *t.* 2. *p.* 30.

order to procure a thick ſmoke, by which the people of the country are informed of their arrival. This ſignal being perceived by the natives, they come down to the place where the commodities are depoſited; having examined them, they leave a certain quantity of gold and ſilver, according to their idea of the value of the goods, and retire to a conſiderable diſtance, almoſt out of ſight of the place. The merchants afterwards go aſhore to ſee if the gold and ſilver left by theſe people are a ſatisfactory exchange for their goods; if they are not content they retire again to their ſhips. The natives then return, and add more gold and ſilver, repeating the former ceremonies, with additions, until the merchants are ſatisfied. Each party is ſtrictly careful not to damage or take away any part of the commodities depoſited by the other, until both are mutually agreed about the exchange *.

The caravans of Tunis and Marroco truck their goods in the ſame manner with the

* Herod. t. 2. l. 4.

the countries of Tombut and Galam. The Marroquins barter their ſalt for the gold of theſe nations *.

The Greeks in general have a ſtrong propenſity to commerce. The pooreſt of them cruiſe about from one iſland to another, while thoſe of more extenſive capitals, enlarge the bounds of their commerce, ſailing to Egypt and the Black ſea. Some of the great merchants trade to the Eaſt-Indies by the way of Baſſora, and bring from thence callicoes and ſtuffs of various kinds: others hold a correſpondence with Ruſſia for ſkins, furs, &c. The Greeks, like the Raguſians, having no inclination towards extravagance, live at a very ſmall expence; as the moſt certain method of gain. Thoſe who cannot find encouragement at home, ſeek an eſtabliſhment in Holland or Venice.—I once went paſſenger to Smyrna with a Greek newly arrived from Martinico, who made a voyage to that iſland every year.

The

* Relat. de Roland Frejus de Mannol. t. 2. l. 3.

The Greeks are not only good merchants, but excellent artificers. They have eſtabliſhed ſeveral manufactories at Scio, where ſtuffs are made exactly reſembling thoſe of India, Perſia *, and even of Lyons. Beſide theſe articles furniſhed at Scio, they make carpets of a very ſuperb quality at Salonica, and at Smyrna. Cyprus is famous for coverlets; as I ſaid before that Candia is for ſoap and oil. Santorin produces a kind of cotton ſtuff called *dimities*, and at Tinde they make ſilk ſtockings. In the days of ancient Greece, Samos and Miletus bore the reputation of excelling in carpets; Corinth in

* Formerly the Perſians ſupplied ſilks and ſtuffs. The emperor Juſtinian propoſed to the kings of Ethiopia, and the Ommerites, to buy ſilk from the Indians, aſſuring them they would be great gainers by that commerce, and that the Greeks and Romans had no other view in recommending it, but to avoid letting their money go into the hands of the Perſians, who were their perpetual enemies.

PROCOPIUS on the Perſian war. EL. 19.

in coverlets; Sicily in cheeſe; and Argos produced the beſt metals *.

The Greeks were early acquainted with the art of navigation, which may be gathered from the number § of veſſels they fitted out for the expedition againſt Troy. The paſſage from iſland to iſland in the Archipelago, and again, to the adjacent continents, was not very difficult by reaſon of the vicinity of thoſe places. Commerce was then carried on by barter or exchange of one commodity for another. The merchants who furniſhed the Greeks with wine from Lemnos during the ſiege of Troy, received in return, braſs, iron, ſkins, &c. †

You are not ignorant that thieving was no crime among the ancient Greeks. It was a calling of ingenuity and induſtry. Being an employment held in no diſgrace,

* Ἐξ Κορινθου ῥεωματα, τυρος Συχελιχης,
ANTIPHANES.

§ It is ſaid they amounted to twelve hundred,——but what ſort of ſhips were they?

† Iliad. l. 7. v. 471, 490. *Origine des loix.* t. 2. p. 310.

the earlieſt navigators became thieves of the firſt rank, under the denomination of pirates. The uncivilized Greeks of the preſent age, who have preſerved the ſimplicity of ancient manners, are now the pirates of the Archipelago. In conſulting Homer upon the cuſtoms of the primitive Greeks, we have the pureſt ſource of knowledge on that head, ever before us.

Ulyſſes having touched at the iſland of Phœacia, Euryalus was deſirous of provoking him to enter the liſts with him, either in the ſkilful management of the lute, or the ſwiftneſs of the courſe. But Ulyſſes declining to engage in either, the young Euryalus, who was of a very paſſionate diſpoſition, broke out into the following rude expreſſion: "I am then to conſider you as "one of thoſe ſhip-maſters, who paſs their "lives in going about from place to place, "to traffic or rob: or in the ſtill more deſ-"picable light of a purſer of the veſſel, one "who keeps a regiſter of ſtores and prizes*."

The

* Odyſs. l. 8.

The Greeks are ſeamen, as it were, by nature. The Turkiſh ſhips of war are manned with them. They make uſe of the compaſs, but have no charts to direct them, and are therefore obliged to truſt to their knowledge of the coaſts for the ſafety of their navigation. Of courſe they never venture far from land. The greateſt part of their ſhips reſemble thoſe of the ancients, having but one maſt, which is croſſed with very long yards; they have alſo great ſails and a high flat poop, ſometimes ornamented; the prow projecting like that of Theſeus' ſhip, deſcribed in the paintings of Herculaneum *. You will frequently ſee a Greek ſituated on the poop of his *volik* §, ſailing on that beautiful canal, the Black Sea, the coaſts reſounding with his lyre, while a favourable wind ſwelling the ſails, wafts him along the water with a pleaſing rapidity. It is impoſſible to view this ſcene without imagining one's ſelf in the fineſt ages of Greece.

In

* Tom. 2. pl. 14.

§ A greek veſſel.

In ſhort to ſhew you the reſemblance between the ancient and modern Greeks, and that there is no better way to explain the former than by a faithful deſcription of the latter, follow M. Spon * to Meſſalongi, or to Ithaca, formerly the kingdom of Ulyſſes; there you may ſee the *Monoxylon*, built exactly upon the model of the ancient Greek veſſels, whoſe name they likewiſe retain. Theſe boats are formed by excavating the trunk of a large tree, and worked by a ſingle perſon with two oars †.

The boats of the ancients, whether for the ſea or the river, were conſtructed after the ſame model ‡. Such are the canoes of the ſavages in Aſia, Africa, and America.

It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the pleaſure I feel at reviewing theſe ſcenes of antiquity among the Greeks, which I had not the

* T. 1. p. 134.

† See *la Deſcription des Pierres Gravées, de Stock*, p. 320.

‡ Tunc *alnos* primum fluvii ſenſêre *cavatas*. Georg. l. 1.

the leaſt idea of knowing but by deſcription. I ſpeak of thoſe Greeks whom hiſtory, poetry, and the arts have rendered ſo intereſting to after ages; and to be acquainted with whom it is neceſſary to ſtudy their manners. But to have a perfect idea of this people you muſt travel through their country, and reſide among them ſome time. It is not in a diſtant nation, or even on the confines of Greece that the true deſcendants of the renowned Greeks are to be found. It is in their proper ſoil, in the heart of the country you muſt look for the juſt character of the nation. Far removed from the ancient ſite of their forefathers, their manners cannot but be diſguiſed and conſtrained. It was remarked, that the Lacedemonians were lions at Sparta, and monkeys at Epheſus *.

Perhaps, too much attached to my plan, I appear to you, as if ſome of the reſemblances between ancient and modern Greece, were forced, and ſtrained to gratify my own predilections.

* Epiſt. l. 1.

lections. In every caſe conſider me in the light of an antiquary, who, inſtead of diſregarding a medal of copper, becauſe it is ruſty, and in a dirty condition, on the contrary, waſhes, cleanſes it with care, and in the end diſcovers characters, which were totally concealed; and by the appearance of the head, or a rare and precious reverſe, is, to his great ſatisfaction, enabled to elucidate ſome obſcure paſſage in the hiſtory of ancient times.

The pleaſure that reſults to me from theſe enquiries is no leſs tranſporting and ſolid. In tracing the modern Greeks, and comparing them with the ancients throughout every department of life. I have had the ſatisfaction always to find a complete reſemblance.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXIV.

Fiſhery, and the Origin of the MADRAGUE, *a Snare for catching the Tunny Fiſh.*

SIR,

AGRICULTURE, though not neglected by the Greeks, cannot be ſuppoſed to have made any great progreſs among them, when it is conſidered into what a ſtate of ignorance they are fallen, and how ſuperſtitiouſly and tenaciouſly they adhere to the practice of their anceſtors. The prejudices, and cuſtoms of the firſt ages, exploded by all the world beſide, are retained by the preſent race of Greeks. Their method of cultivating the grape, and making wine, is as ancient, as the *crane* they make uſe of to draw it off, which we find no where ſo well deſcribed as in the works of Oppian *.

Agriculture,

* De Piſcat. l. 4 462.

Agriculture, undoubtedly deſerves the firſt place among the arts, being the ſource from whence all earthly enjoyments are derived. It is no wonder that the ancients ſhould elevate thoſe men to the rank of gods, who had the glory to contribute towards diſcoveries, in an art ſo neceſſary, not only to the pleaſures of life, but even to the exiſtence of mankind. At the ſame time they immortalized the benefit, they did honour to themſelves by the gratitude ſhewn to their benefactors. Cicero, who was no friend to commerce, ſays, that of all the methods in life to improve one's fortune, no one is more eligible than the practice of agriculture; and is, in his opinion, the moſt uſeful, the moſt agreeable, the moſt worthy of a man and a freeman *. Virgil is no leſs eloquent in the inſtructions he gives to the farmer, than in the moſt heroic ſcenes of his Æneid. Nature who forms poets, has a right to the firſt

* Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil eſt agriculturâ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine, nihil libero dignius. De Offic. l. 1. CXLII.

firſt tribute of their pen. To do them juſtice, it muſt be confeſſed, that the beauty of the country, and the happineſs of a rural life, have ever been their favourite themes*.

But fiſhery, which was the prelude, and, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the apprenticeſhip of navigation; which, from the line to the harpoon §, offers us more amuſement, with leſs fatigue, than perhaps any other ſpecies of entertainment; which occupies from the ſmalleſt boat to ſhips of the greateſt burthen, and draws forth the means of ſubſiſtence to an infinite number of perſons; fiſhery, I ſay, has no leſs claim to our attention. It has ſucceeded in proportion to the advancement of agriculture, and followed it ſtep by ſtep. One of the fineſt poems that ever was handed down to us from the Greeks, was written in celebration of that art; a poem ſo much eſteemed in

* O fortunatos nimiùm, ſua ſi bona nôrint, Agricolas! Georg. 1.
Beatus ille qui, &c. Horace.

§ Hi jaculo piſces, illi capiuntur ab hamis. *Ovid.*

in the age that produced it, as to obtain the appellation of golden verſes *, for the lines of which it was compoſed.

Whole nations have followed this art, as the only means of ſupport, as others have derived their ſubſiſtence from the purſuit of terreſtrial animals §. The latter, being the moſt healthful and agreeable exerciſe, and the ſucceſs of it attended with greater *eclat*, has been in all ages the principal diverſion of youth, and the favourite ſport of princes and heroes; while, on the other hand, fiſhery

* Others ſay it was on account of the immenſe ſum given by the emperor Caracalla to Oppian in recompence for this poem.—It is reported the poet received a golden crown for every line.

§ Quint. Curt. l. 9. c. 10. Speaking of the Indians inhabiting the ſea-coaſts, ſays, " Tugurea conchis & cæteris purgamentis maris inſtruunt; ferarum pellibus tecti, & piſcibus ſole duratis, & majorum quoque belluarum quas fluctus ejecit, carne veſcuntur.

fiſhery, having generally been the profeſſion of the meaner ſort of people, and attended with greater danger, as it is oftentimes neceſſary for a profitable capture, to put out to ſea, where men have not the ſame opportunities of ſhewing their ſkill and addreſs: fiſhery, I ſay, was, for theſe reaſons, left in the hands of thoſe whoſe lives appeared to be of leſs value to ſociety.

The Greek fiſhermen, deſcribed in the hiſtory of former times, or on the monuments of antiquity, are exactly repreſented by thoſe of the preſent age, who are provided with the ſame kind of implements as their predeceſſors.—As they are, in general, more ſkilful and induſtrious in their profeſſion than their neighbours, they are alſo more ſucceſsful. Although the ſea at Alexandria abounds with fiſh, the Turks are frequently in want of that article; while the Greek fiſhermen of the Archipelago and the Black Sea, have always ſufficient to ſupply the demand.

When I ſhall have mentioned to you ſome few inſtances from hiſtory, and the works of the ancient Greek poets, you will

ſoon

ſoon recollect that we owe the diſcovery of the famous gold tripod of Helen, to ſome fiſhermen of the iſland of Cos. A lucky caſt of the net put into their hands this valuable property, which was ſold by them to the inhabitants of Miletum, and would have produced a war between the two cities engaged in the diſpute; if the oracle, always conſulted in difficult caſes, had not cut the knot of diſcord by directing them to preſent the tripod to the wiſeſt man of Greece *.

On the exergue of the famous Cornelian, called Michael Angelo's ſeal, in the cabinet of the king of France, is repreſented a fiſherman, which is without doubt, a ſymbol of the peace and tranquillity the country then enjoyed. §.

It

* Plutarch, life of Solon. Val. Max. Diog. Laert.

§ According to M. Baudelot. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. t. 1. See, however, M. Marriett's explanation: Recherches ſur les Pierres Gravées, t. 2. p. 47.

It was, moſt probably, ſome fiſherman, accuſtomed to coaſt along the Mediterranean, that pointed out to our anceſtors the ſpot on which they built the famous city of Marſeilles. We are at leaſt authorized to aſſert this circumſtance from the opinion of my learned compatriot, and fellow academician M. Carry *. He conjectures, that the Phocæans, touching on that part of the coaſt, diſcovered a fiſherman, to whom they threw a rope in order to laſh their ſhip to the ſhore; and the two Greek words, which ſignify *to faſten* and *fiſherman*, gave, he thinks, the name of Maſſalia to the future city §.

Why ſhould we attempt to conceal our deſcent from a ſtock which we need not bluſh to own, notwithſtanding the Phocæans were, for the moſt part, fiſhermen or traders. The principal fiſhery of the modern Greeks brings me in idea to Marſeilles. The

* Of the Academy of Marſeilles.

§ μάςτιν, to faſten: ἁλιεὺς, a fiſherman. Fondation de Marſeilles par M. Carry. p. 59.

The company of fiſhers *, eſtabliſhed among us, form a very ſtriking reſemblance with our founders. Their laws, cuſtoms, and juriſdiction, all ſerve to retrace the ſimplicity of ancient manners.

You will find alſo another ſtrong reſemblance between the Greeks and Marſeillians. At Iaſſus, the ſons of the net, like many among ourſelves, were too much taken up with their fiſh, to attend to any other concern.

Strabo tells the following ſtory of them. A celebrated muſician, ſays he, employing his talents one day in the ſtreets of Iaſſus, the inhabitants of which were for the moſt part fiſhermen, drew about him a great number of people; but the ſignal being preſently given for opening the fiſh market, his whole audience deſerted him, except one man who happened to be a little deaf. The muſician, unacquainted with that circumſtance,

* I mean the company of *Speculators*.

ſtance, was highly flattered by his attention, felicitated the man on his taſte for muſic, and praiſed him much for the regard he had ſhewn to a piece which, he ſaid, had particular merit; a thing the more remarkable in him, conſidering what an univerſal depravity of taſte appeared in his fellow citizens, by quitting him at the firſt ſound of the bell, to ſell their fiſh. "How," replies the ſuppoſed man of taſte, "is the ſig-"nal given? I never heard it;" and inſtantly followed his brother fiſhermen with equal precipitation.

Would you chooſe the portrait of more poliſhed and agreeable fiſhermen. Theocritus has given us the following account.

"Two fiſhermen," ſays the poet *, "lay together in their hut on a bed of "ruſhes; leaves of trees ſerved them to "repoſe on, and at the ſame time to ſhel-"ter their heads. The implements of their "profeſſion lay ſcattered about the hut, as "baſkets, reeds, hooks, mats, hair-"lines

* Idyl. 22.

" lines*, nets, oſier-bands, wells, a ſkin,
" and an old bark placed upon two rollers:
" under their heads were their old coats
" and caps. Behold the liſt of all their
" valuables, and the whole fruit of their
" labour. No human being was to be found
" within many miles of their habitation;
" but the ſea brought its waves gently to
" the door of their hut. Luna's chariot
" was not arrived at the end of its journey,
" when the love of induſtry awakened theſe
" plain honeſt men to purſue their daily
" toil."

May I preſume to place by the ſide of this picture, another drawn by myſelf, of ſcenes that I was a ſpectator of? There is little difference between the fiſhermen of ancient Greece, and their ſucceſſors. Frequently, after plentiful draughts of the net, the

* Plutarch, among other queſtions concerning natural cauſes, aſks, " Why the fiſh-
" ermen uſe lines made of the hair of horſes'
" manes and tails, in preference to that of
" mares?"

the maſter of a bark, ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his adventure, refreſhes himſelf with a ſhort repoſe; and calling his family about him, abandons the remainder of the day to ſports and joy. Sometimes after a holyday ſpent in mirth and jollity, he eagerly prepares to return to his work, and again try his fortune with the net; a ſtorm perhaps detains him in the port; he repeats his endeavours to get out to ſea, but the wind and currents as often prevent him. He is on the way, with a dejected countenance, back to his family: but ſuddenly a gleam of hope opens upon him, he returns, then, with an air of contempt, wrapping his foul weather coat about him, he runs with precipitation to his bark, where the oars yet remain fixed, ready to be employed. There ſtretched, in the bottom of his boat with his head upon his hand, he waits for the favourable moment to get out.

Homer, who was the firſt to lay all nature under contribution, in order to furniſh that crowd of images which are diſperſed over his works, did not forget the fiſhers.

Deſcribing the fate of Penelope's ſuitors, he repreſents them after the combat, "ſcattered upon the ground, and panting "for breath like fiſhes taken from the net, "and thrown on the ſhore. Laid in heaps "on the dry ſand, ſays he, the finny race "thirſt for the moiſt element which they "ſo recently enjoyed, and palpitate, in "every part, from the heat and aridity of "the air, juſt ready to deſtroy them. Thus "fell the lovers of Penelope, and found one "common grave." * Homer then mentions the fiſhing with nets, which practice was very ancient in Greece and in Egypt. But the Greeks, according to Athenæu, were a long time before they came to eat fiſh; and Mad. Dacier obſerves that at the time of the ſiege of Troy, warriors abſtained from the uſe of fiſh, as a food of too delicate a nature for men of that profeſſion. Accordingly, Menelaus in the Odyſſey, excuſes his companions who remained with him at the iſland of Pharos, for fiſhing with the line; by ſaying, that hunger carried

* Odyſſ. l. 22.

carried them ſuch lengths they were obliged to eat whatever they could come at *.

After the Greeks took to this way of life, they brought the art to the greateſt perfection. Pollux has been more particular than even Theocritus, in his account of the utenſils neceſſary for carrying on this employment; but you will, I hope, excuſe me from diſplaying my erudition on this occaſion. I ſhall only obſerve that they had *mazes* wherein the fiſh were ſnared: They made alſo with ruſhes or netting, a ſort of circular incloſure in the water, in order to keep the fiſh alive, in the ſame manner that cattle are ſhut up in a ſtable; and here we find the origin of our *Madragues* for the tunny fiſhery, clearly explained. Let us follow theſe Greeks quite to Marſeilles, and confine ourſelves to that fiſhery which is the moſt remarkable in nature.

Oppian has not omitted mentioning the

* Odyſſ. l. 4. t. 1. p. 298. Traduction de Madame Dacier.

fiſhery for the *Xiphias*, or *Sword-fiſh*, carried on by the people of Marſeilles; he calls this *the ſacred city* *. Next to the Xiphias, and the pilchard fiſhery, carried on by the Greeks in the Black-ſea §, there is no ſpecies of fiſhing more ancient than that for the tunny. They were always eſteemed the beſt and the largeſt fiſh of the ſea. They uſed to come in ſholes †; and, according to Pliny, a company of them once perſuing the ſhips of Alexander, his whole fleet were ſeized with terror, and formed themſelves into a line as if attacked by an

* ἀμφί τι Μασσαλιάν ἱερωπολιν. l. 3. c. 544.

§ S. Baſil. orat. 7. in the Ariſt. 8. hiſt. anim. cap. 13. Ritterſh. Halient. This fiſhery cannot fail to be very abundant, becauſe it compriſes the fiſh of that ſea, as well as thoſe of the rivers which empty themſelves into it. It was from this circumſtance that an ancient author makes the fiſh ſpeak, and mutually invite each other to a rendezvous in the Euxine-ſea, under the aſſurance of finding the water more ſoft and agreeable than the water of other ſeas.

† Et pavidi magno fugientes agmine thynni.
Ovid Halieut.

an enemy *. I have indeed obſerved that the tunny-fiſh delight in following ſhips, which, in ſome degree, accounts for the decline of that fiſhery upon our coaſts, ſince the war with England.

This fiſh was in as great eſtimation among the ancients, as it is among the moderns. They ſerved them at the beſt tables, and the Romans were as fond of them as ourſelves. According to Aulus Gellius, our pickled tunny §, and Botargo, are more ancient than we imagine. It was a cuſtom among the Carthaginians, always to provide the tunny fiſh for weddings; and it

* Plin. Hiſt. l. 9. c. 3.

§ Porro Thunnorum abdomina ſalita (Greci ἄμοταριχον vocant), apud veteres in deliciis habita ſunt. Id facile intelligas, ex Lucilii verſibus apud Nonnium, & Aul. Gell. l. 10. c. 2.

Ad cœnam adducam, & primum hic abdomina Thunni
Advenientibus priva dabo.

Poutargue, ſalſamentum piſcium; τάριχος œufs de poiſſons ſeches & ſales.

had a place at the banquet, before the new-married couple were put to bed *.

Formerly, as at preſent, there was a ſeaſon for the capture of this fiſh; and the days were fixed on which it ſhould commence and finiſh. It is not ſurpriſing that the Bœotians ſhould ſacrifice their largeſt eels to the gods, ſeeing that our fiſhermen, during the taking of the tunny fiſh, after drawing their nets, offer one of the ſame ſort of fiſh to Neptune §. This ſacrifice was called θυνλαῖον. They had alſo oblations which they preferred to the ſovereign of the ſea, at the commencement of the ſeaſon, imploring his aſſiſtance to keep their nets clear of the ſword-fiſh, which never failed to tear and deſtroy them. The Greeks are more cautious to avoid them than heretofore, being more numerous in thoſe ſeas than formerly.

The

* Jul. Scal. Poet. 3. Ritterſh. Comm. in lib. Haleut. Opp. not. 181.

§ Athen. l. 17. c. 297.

The tunny fiſh ſtill continue to paſs thro' the ſtreights of Gibraltar in large companies, about the commencement of ſpring. There is a great fiſhery of them at a village called Conil, about ſeven leagues from Cadiz; particular days are fixed for catching them, and the ſpectators, who are generally numerous, conſider it as fortunate to be preſent. I have been aſſured that the duke of Medina Sidonia draws from that village, and its environs, the neat ſum of eighty thouſand ducats yearly, by means of this fiſhery, notwithſtanding the tunny is a fiſh in no great repute with the Spaniards. It is generally bigger and coarſer in Spain and Portugal than in Provence: but not ſo ſubtle, and therefore more eaſily taken. It is thought that the water of the Mediterranean purges it of thoſe oily particles, which give it ſuch a bad taſte. It is ſtill poorer about the iſland of Sardinia than in Provence; but by the time it has reached the Black Sea, becomes fat, and often of a very inſipid flavour.

The tunny fiſh paſs the Dardanelles into the Black Sea; early in the ſpring. Like the ſword fiſh, they avoid the currents, and

follow them in their return at autumn. They are caught with large nets, with which they are ſurrounded during the night.

Diodorus, ſpeaking of the Ichthyophagi, a people who inhabited the country from Caramania and Gædroſia, to the borders of the Black Sea, gives this account of them: "Their houſes," ſays he, "are ſituated "near the ſea, interſperſed with deep val- "lies, precipices, ſlopes, and hollows natu- "rally oblique. The inhabitants profiting "by the diſpoſition of their country, ſtop "up all the outlets of the valleys and pre- "cipices, with great ſtones; thus prevent- "ing the retreat of the fiſh which the ſea "poured in upon them."

The ſame hiſtorian proceeds with an account of the progreſs of that infant fiſhery, and gives a very ample deſcription of an invention, ſince brought to great perfection.

"On the coaſts of Babylon," "ſays "he, is a country well cultivated and "enriched

" enriched with trees. The inhabitants
" have ſuch an abundance of fiſh
" that they find it difficult to preſerve
" them. They ſtick an innumerable quan-
" tity of reeds into the earth along the
" banks of the ſea, which appear like nets
" ſpread on the ground. In this fence are
" a great number of doors, in form like a
" hurdle, which are eaſily opened and
" ſhut. When the tide comes in, it opens
" them; and at its return they naturally
" cloſe: by which means the fiſh, thrown
" in by the ſea are detained in theſe inclo-
" ſures. At low-water you will ſee an im-
" menſity of the finny tribe, panting in
" heaps in the ſnare. The people draw
" great profit from this fiſhery: and thoſe
" whoſe huts are diſtant from the ſea, make
" trenches which let the fiſh up to the ve-
" ry doors of their houſes."

" They ſtop this trench with a door
" made of willows, which they open when
" the tide comes in, and ſhut, again, as
" ſoon as it begins to ebb. The water eſ-

" caping through the doors, leaves the " fiſh behind. * This method was made " uſe of by the northern people, according " to Pliny, to ſupply themſelves with " that article of life§."

The Greeks were not the laſt to adopt this manner of catching and detaining the inhabitants of the watry element. They have continued it, like moſt of their cuſtoms, to this day. (See Tournefort on that head.) At Salines, a port in Naxos, an iſland of the Archipelago, they have a great fiſhery for eels and mullet, by the means of ſnares, compoſed of reeds, and made into a certain form. They are very pliable, and ſo diſpoſed, that the fiſh once lodged in them cannot get out. The Provençals make uſe of the ſame kind of machines, in the canal of Martigues, but much larger

* Diod. l. 3.

§ Fugienteſque cum mari piſces circum Tuguria venantur. l. XVI. c. 1.

larger and ſtronger. The invention is very ancient, as you have already ſeen.

We find the ſame practice among the Coſſacks. The Coſſacks, who have a fiſhery at Citchon in Circaſſia, ſays M. Peyſſonel, are called *Sacriſnadi*, and ſubject to the Cham of Tartary; they follow this employment from the beginning of May, to the laſt day in October. It is not practicable the reſt of the year, by reaſon that the river Kouban is generally frozen during that interval. At the opening of the fiſhery, every year, the Bey gives a great entertainment. The Sturgeon fiſhery is carried on in a very ſingular manner. They make an incloſure of willows, with a door which, being placed in the water, is ſo contrived to admit all the fiſh that come that way, without the poſſibility of their getting out again.

You will ſee by the deſcription I ſhall give you of our *Madragues*, to what a degree of perfection the Marſeillians have brought it, for

for the catching of tunny fiſh, and all other ſpecies of fiſh that ſwim in ſhoals.

It is therefore evident, that the inhabitants of the coaſts, and the ſhepherds themſelves, who lived near the borders of the ſea, or great rivers, may be ſuppoſed to have acquired a knowledge in the art of fiſhing, by which means their families might be more eaſily ſupported. * In thoſe places where the tide brings up the fiſh, their firſt care would be to find ſome method to detain them, and they accordingly formed a *cloſe* much reſembling the folds made uſe of for incloſing cattle in the middle of a field. The Greeks had the ſame idea, and have preſerved it. † *Mandra* in Greek, ſignifies a ſtable; from the words μανδρα, and αγω, undoubtedly came the Provençal term *Madrague*,

* Let. 5. v. 1. p. 248.

† Manuſcript memoirs on the ports and commerce of the Black-ſea.

drague, which we have received from the Greeks. Thus, in the word alone, we find the hiſtory of the thing. Originally the *Mandrague* was nothing more than an incloſure, that being placed in the water, received the fiſh, and prevented their eſcape; it is clear that it was firſt formed upon the model of the *Mandra*, or ſheep-fold.

A remark made by M. Hardion *, upon the 10th *Idyllium* of Theocritus, confirms this opinion: "There is," ſays he, "in "the Greek, the word μάνδρα which ſig- "nifies a ſtable or ſheep-fold. The Ita- "lians have retained this word in their "language. Sannazar has it in his *Arcadia*; "Taſſo makes uſe of it, both in his *Amintas*, "and *Jeruſalem delivered*."

Compare our fiſhery with that which Oppian has ſo minutely deſcribed: "The "tunny fiſh," ſays he, "preſs in multi- "tudes into the nets laid for them, and into "the

* Mém de l'Acad. des Inſcript.

" the ſnares, from whence they can never " withdraw. * They leave the great ocean " in the ſpring, and viſit our ſeas, at a time " when the male and female are urged by " the ſame deſires. The haughty Spa- " niard waits for them at the Straits, and " gets the firſt draughts. Soon after they " become the prey of the *Celtæ*, who live " near the mouth of the Rhone; and then " to the Marſeillians, a race deſcended from " the ancient Phoceans. At length they " reach the Sicilian ſhore, and fatten the " inhabitants of the Tyrrhenian coaſts."

" The arrival of this vernal animal, is " matter of joyful intelligence to the fiſher- " men. They wait for them on the coaſts, " and chooſe a ſituation, neither too much " confined, nor greatly expoſed to the wind; " ſome kind of open bay. The perſon ap- " pointed to watch their arrival, gets on " the

* Cupiunt irremeabilium inſidiarum irruere latibulum, l. 3. v. 586.

"the top of a neighbouring mountain *, "and as ſoon as he perceives them, a ſignal "is given to his aſſociates. The nets be- "ing already ſpread, form, as it were, "apartments in the ſea; for you will find "a porch reſembling the entrance of a "houſe, rooms within, and at the bottom "another chamber †."

You will not perhaps be diſpleaſed with Oppian's elegant verſes on the tunny fiſhery: at leaſt the beautiful tranſlation of Maria Salvini, will make them worthy your attention.

De Tonni la progenie è pur del vaſto
Oceano, ed all'opre del mar noſtro
Di primavera marciano à furore,
Quando aſſilo di nozze ne li punge.
Queſti prendono in pria nel mar Ibero
Uomini Iberi per valor ſuperbi.

A bocca

* Θυννωσκοπος, Thunniſpex.
† The Fiſhermen of Marſeilles call it *Corpou*.

A bocca poi di Rodano i caccianti
Celti, egli abitatori di Focea
Anticamente rinomati; e in terzo
Luogo prendongli quanti in la Trinacria
Iſola albergano, del mar Tirreno
Nelle onde; quindi in infiniti fondi
Queſti, e quelli di quà, di là, ſi ſpargono,
E coſi empion tutto quanto il mare.
Molta, e ſtupenda caccia è apparecchiata
Ai peſcatori, quando ſe ne viene
Di Tonni alla ſtagion di primavera
L'eſercito. Il paeſe in primo luogo
Diſegnavo del mar ne molto anguſto
Sotto ombroſe riviere, ne anco molto
Corſo da venti, e à lor carriere eſpoſto,
Ma che teneſſe in ſe giuſte miſure
Tra'l ſereno ſcoperto, ed il bacio.
Allora in pria ſorr'erto ed alto colle
Sale il perito ſpiato, di Tonni
Che de diverſi branchi la venuta.
Conoſce e quali eſſi ſi ſieno, e quanti,
Ed à compagni ſi porge avviſo.
Ora tutte le reti, di Cittade
A guiſa, ſu pe'flutti ne caminano.
Avvi ricetti, ed avvi poſte, ed avvi
Profonde gallerie ed atrii e corti;

Quelli

Quelli velocemente in ſchiere muovonſi,
Come falangi d'uomini che marcino
Schierati, &c.

You may ſee the *Madrague* of Oppian at any time, on our coaſts; which however we did not borrow from him, but received from the Greeks our anceſtors. There is this difference only, that the look out is made in a bark, a-head of the *Madrague*, inſtead of being made from the mountain. You would be ſurpriſed at the dexterity with which the ſailors ſeize the fiſh; and the moment they have them in the fold, turn it, whereby the fiſh loſe their force inſenſibly. This ingenious *manœuvre* would afford you great entertainment.

You will probably doubt the truth of this derivation of the Madrague unleſs accompanied by ſome corroborating circumſtances, to ſhew that the terms in general made uſe of by the profeſſors of this art, are derived from the Greek: the names of the ſeveral ſpecies of fiſh in the Provençal language, are evidently taken from the Greeks,

Greeks, as are moſt of the Latin words for the ſame articles.—I foreſaw that I ſhould not be able to follow our Greek friends to Marſeilles, without writing in the Provençal, before the concluſion of my letter: you may talk on this ſubject to our philoſophers in the language of Provence, they will certainly underſtand you, and take it for Greek.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXV.

Various Cuſtoms, and a Supplement to the preceding Letters.

SIR,

TO anſwer the queſtions, you have from time to time propounded, with reſpect to the omiſſions, and want of amplification in the foregoing part of the correſpondence with which you have indulged me; it will be neceſſary to re-tread the ſeveral fields of enquiry already gone over; and, as it were, glean the ſcattered remains of intelligence, which, in the eagerneſs of diſpatch, were left behind ungathered. Upon a reviſal of my notes, I find many particulars which I had neglected to mention, and others which had entirely eſcaped my obſervation. The magnificent collection of the paintings of Herculaneum, which I have had the opportunity of examining ſince my journey, come in very fortunately to my aid. I ſhall not make the leaſt

apology

apology for introducing them, and at the ſame time accompany them with the notes of many learned writers. You will eaſily diſtinguiſh their erudition from mine, which, however, I do not inſert with theirs for the ſake of compariſon, but it will ſerve for ſhades to the picture drawn by them: *Scribimus indocti, doctique, &c.*

After a deſcription of the Greek feſtivals, it is very natural to ſuppoſe you might expect ſome account of a domeſtic repaſt; and alſo of a modern entertainment in order to judge of the difference between the ancients and the moderns in that particular. You ſhall not be diſappointed in your expectations; and it is from a painting which *le Recueil d'Herculanum* has furniſhed me with, that I propoſe to ſatisfy you in the firſt inſtance. Tome 1. pl. 14.

Upon the *triclinium*, or triangular bed of the ancients, (which is exceeding well imitated by ſofas, covered with white ſtuff) you ſee a man about half reclined; his wife placed by him, at the edge of the *triclinium*, and

and a young man attending, with ſomething like a box, in his hand. Before them, is placed a table, in form of a tripod, with legs reſembling thoſe of a hind, ſuch as the Greeks now uſe; on this table are vaſes filled with wine, which denotes the repaſt to be finiſhed. The floor is ſtrewed with roſes. The man is drinking out of a horn, pierced at the point, which, raiſing with his arm to a certain height, a little above his mouth, he receives the wine into it, in the ſame manner that liquor is poured into a glaſs, to make it ſparkle. This bacchic method of drinking is common among our ſailors as well at the Greeks; but is chiefly confined to thoſe who do not *pique* themſelves upon their ſobriety.

The Thracians, Greeks, and Paphlagonians, uſed, likewiſe, the horns of different animals; and alſo this manner of letting the wine run into their mouth like the ſtream from a crane, which was called ἄμυξιν *. As by this method they took copious

* Athen. l. 10. Ariſtophan. *Acarnan. act.* 4. Calep. Dict. *Amyſtis.* Per cornua etiam fluentia in fauces hominum vina decurrunt. S. Ambr. de El. & ſej.

copious draughts, their large cups were called αμυξις; one of which, a Thracian would empty at a ſingle draught *.

The quadrupedal tables were called θραπιξαι as the tripods were θριποδις. The ſquare table on which the Greeks dine in the winter, is the *tendour*, of which you have already had a diffuſive account in my fourth letter. The tripod is only uſed in ſummer.

The cuſtom of eating in a reclined poſition, and in a negligence of dreſs, ſometimes bordering on indecency, comes from the practice of going to table immediately upon quitting the bath; and indeed it is very natural to wiſh for a recumbent poſture after the relaxation occaſioned by the hot bath †. Cuſtom having made eating in that

* Non multi Damalis meri
Baſſum Threiciâ vincat amyſtide.
HOR. l. 1. Od. 36.

† Qualis eſt fatigatis potus, dulceque lavacrum, γλυκιρὸντι λυτρῳ this mild bath, which the ancient Greeks ſo much delighted in; and which the Greeks of this preſent age are ſtill pleaſed with.

that manner familiar to them, they take their repaſts very commodiouſly in ſuch a ſituation. The ancients, after regaling ſufficiently, had nothing to hinder their falling aſleep, a cuſhion, being always ready to receive their head. The domeſtic repaſt of the moderns is a faithful image of the good old times, and of that *train d'amour*, which according to Marot, then reigning in Greece. I have already ſaid that the ſofas are generally covered with a plain cotton ſtuff. This correſponds with the ſimplicity of the ancients. Homer calls them plain white beds, ſpeaking no doubt of thoſe uſed in his days; but Apuleius deſcribes them adorned with all the trappings and decorations of luxuriant magnificence †.

The ſofas now in uſe among the Greeks, are generally covered with purple ſtuffs, beautifully embroidered with gold flowers. It

† Lectus indicus, teſtudine perlucidus, plumeâ congeſtâ tumidus, veſte ſericâ floridus, &c. APUL. MILES. l. x.

It is worthy of obſervation, that their ſofas are elevated on a platform, to a conſiderable height *, the attendants having their ſtation on the floor. This was practiſed in the earlieſt times.

The academicians of Naples, tell us, *I ſervi è le ſerve ſi diceano da Latini* ad pedes †, *per che nelle cene ſtavano a piedi de convitati, o de padroni* §.

The Turkiſh ladies, who obtained the ſingular favour, of being permitted to go out of the ſeraglio to viſit Mad. Deſalleurs, the ambaſſadreſs of France, were attended by their female ſlaves, by whom they were

* The ancient beds were in the ſame taſte.

Regis Echionii ſtratis adlapſus, ubi ingens
Fuderat Aſſiriis exſtructa tapetibus alto
Membra toro.
Capit ille dapes, habet ille ſoporem. . .
STAT. l. 2. Theb.

† Servus qui cœnanti ad pedes ſteterat, narrat quæ inter cœnam ebrius dixiſſet.
SENEC. de Benef. III. 27.

§ Antiquit. d'Herculan. t. 1. p. 77. pl. 14. not. 17. MARTIAL. paſſim.

were ſerved, on their knees, at table: which carries the air of much more dignity than *Stare a piedi*.

The antients entertained a belief that flowers had the property of defending the brain againſt intoxication. On which account their perſons, the room where they eat, and their beds likewiſe, were profuſely decked with them: ſometimes ſcented waters were ſprinkled about the floor.

At preſent the Greeks and Turks burn aloes, which emit an odour much more pleaſing. This method is alſo conſiderably more expenſive.

Beſide the flowers uſed for theſe purpoſes, great quantities of them were tied together in the form of crowns and wreaths; you have already been told, that the modern Greeks are exceedingly fond of ſuch crowns, and never wear them but on occaſions of joy and feſtivity. It appears, that Epictetus himſelf, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of his principles, was no enemy to them "A "man," ſays he, came one day to con-

"ſult me, upon an intention he had form-
"ed, of entering into the college of Au-
"guſtan prieſts at Nicopolis." *My good friend*, ſaid I, *what benefit do you propoſe to yourſelf from that?* It appears to me an *uſeleſs expence.* "My name," replied he, "by being inſerted in their regiſters, will "be preſerved to remoteſt ages." *Have it engraved on a ſtone, its duration will be better ſecured by that means.* "But I ſhall "wear a crown of gold." *If wearing a crown, is the ſole aim of your ambition, one is as good as another, have one made of roſes: it will be much more becoming, and infinitely leſs cumberſome* *.

But to return to the picture, of a domeſtic repaſt, which I promiſed you. The academicians obſerve, that a woman preparing to quit the ſofa, is without ſhoes; and that the little box carried by the ſervant or ſlave, muſt have been for the purpoſe of holding her ſandals, or ſlippers. Upon this occaſion they obſerve that Plautus,

* Ep. l. 1. l. VII.

tus, in his comedy of *Trinummus*, *act.* 2. *ſc.* 1. calls theſe ſervants *ſandal-bearers* *, becauſe the women were particularly careful of the attire of their feet, and always put off their ſandals when they went to table. This eaſily accounts for the practice of the modern Greeks. A Greek lady not only takes off her ſcandals, for the commodiouſneſs of *ſquatting*, leaning, and repoſing on the ſofa; but even before ſhe attempts to get up on it §. It is well known that the Turks whenever they go to the moſque, leave their ſlippers at the entrance of it, as likewiſe at the door of their own apartments.

The Greek women never wear ſhoes in the houſe. Galoſhes are placed at the door of their chambers, which they generally make uſe of, and which ſerve them for the purpoſe of walking about the houſe, or in the garden. A kind of buſkin,

* Sandaligerulæ.

§ Obvia nudato, Delia, curre pede:
TIBUL. *Eleg.* 3. l. 1.

commonly of a yellow colour, are what they put on to go to any diſtance from the houſe; and their ſervants, the *Sandaligerulæ*, carry a parcel in which are the ſandals or ſlippers of their lady.

By a further examination of the Herculaneum collection, I find that, in ſpeaking of dreſs, I have omitted the riding cloak, which the Greeks and Turks conſtantly wear, to keep them from the cold and rain, or when they travel. This riding-cloak is conſiderably longer and wider, than the ſurtouts worn in France. You will ſee, *pl. 6. vol. 3.* the figure which is ſuppoſed to be that of Ulyſſes ſtanding before Penelope, who is ſeated in a chair of ivory, in the manner pourtrayed by Homer *. The monarch of Ithaca, having freed the queen from her ſuitors, is dreſſed in a Phrygian riding-cloak, ſuch as Paris and Ganymede are deſcribed in, and with which the Spartans alſo, were generally clad.

I be-

* Not. 10.

I believe this Phrygian or Greek riding-cloak, to have been as ancient in the eaſt, as the women's veil, which St. Paul recommends to them to wear conſtantly. This apoſtle, according to the interpretation of the learned author of *L'Ouvrage de ſix Jours*, tells the Corinthians: "That the "head of the man, repreſenting the majeſty "of his maſter, ought never to be covered; "but that the woman, in refuſing to veil "her head, diſhonours herſelf, becauſe by "diſcovering it ſhe ſeems to render her "ſtate of dependence doubtful, and obſcures "the ſuperiority of the man."

I have already mentioned the veil of the ſervants or ſlaves, which is generally the longeſt, as that worn by the ancient captives uſed to be. The ladies veil is ſome what leſs; but even now it covers all the back, and falls a conſiderable way down the ſhoulders: this is preciſely the ancient veil.

In Statius' Thebaid, the daughter of Cadmus, ſtartled at the appearance of Antigonus, who came unawares upon her, while ſhe was

contemplating the remains of her deceaſed huſband; covers at the ſame inſtant with her veil, his face and her own *.

You will find the large veil in *the* 18th *plate of* vol. 1. *of the Herculaneum collection*, where a woman is repreſented dancing, in a very immodeſt attitude, and opening her veil with a moſt graceful air, notwithſtanding.

The laſcivious dances, which I have not yet entered into a detail of, are among the Greeks and Turks, and confined to the profeſſion of a courteſan, as they formerly were. They are ſtill ſought after by thoſe people who have no ſcruples about the purity of their morals, and at weddings, where greater latitude is given to every kind of feſtivity.

* Nihil illa diû, ſed in ora mariti
Dejicit, inque ſuos pariter velamina vultus,
Capta metu ſubito. Theb, l. 12.

tivity. At the nuptials of Pſyche, Venus, herſelf danced, according to Apuleius *.

It appears that the ſame kind of dancers, who are hired to perform at entertainments, were in vogue under the firſt emperors; for Theodoſius prohibited this practice by an expreſs law.

A female dancer of this profeſſion, who attends at all public places of diverſion, very much reſembles thoſe courteſans who danced upon the theatres at the feaſts of Flora §. After giving the gueſts to underſtand what her buſineſs was there, ſhe embraced every man preſent ſucceſſively, and ſolicited ſome mark of his generoſity. At preſent ſhe carries a tabor in her hand, ſomething like the ſinger (*Pſaltria*) *in the* 23d. *pl. of vol.* II. *Hercul. col.* Her boſom is uncovered in a very immodeſt manner; and ſhe is al-

* Venus ſuavi Muſicæ ſuperingreſſa, formoſe ſaltavit. Miles. l. 12.

§ Val. Max. l. 2. c. 10.

together an exact copy of what Sappho is repreſented by Ovid *.

The Turkiſh women in the ſeraglios or harams, who are ſelected or rather condemned by a cruel law, to the purpoſes of abetting the luxury, and kindling the deſires of their maſters, follow the ancients, in the cuſtom of wearing light tranſparent robes, in order to diſcover the ſymmetry of their limbs, and to give a better view of thoſe laſcivious poſitions, which they are taught to practiſe for ſuch occaſions §. I had once an opportunity of ſeeing ſome Turkiſh women dreſſed in that manner, at the houſe of Mad. Deſalleurs, where they were on a viſit.

I ſhall

* Ovid. Am. l. 3.

§ Ingrediuntur expolitæ libidinis victimæ, et tenuitate veſtium nudæ oculis ingeruntur.

S. Jer. in Hel.

Crediderim nymphas hâc ego veſte tegi.

Ovid.

Theſe tranſparent garments were called *multicia*; and the artiſts who made them λεπτυργοι.

I ſhall ſay no more of this ſubject: it is of too dangerous a nature to dwell upon. Let us not follow the ancients in their vices. They took great freedoms in their proſe deſcriptions, though not in proportion to the unbounded licentiouſneſs, which reigns in their poems. It is a great reflection on the manners of any man to admit language into his writings, which decency forbids, even though he ſhould copy it *verbatim*, from the greateſt authority of ancient lore. *

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

* Raro moribus exprimit Catonem, quiſquis verſibus exprimit Catullum.

MURET. in Juven.

LETTER XXVI.

The ſame.

SIR,

TO what I have already ſaid on the attire of the ladies' feet, you will be pleaſed to add what I have ſince met with.

The wooden ſandals or galoſhes worn by the Greek ladies, are, generally, very neat, ſometimes you will ſee them inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and often embroidered. The mode of this article of dreſs, which is calculated to make them appear taller, ſeems to be derived from the ancient buſkin, which differed very much from thoſe laced on*, but however bore the ſame name.

The

* Purpureoque altè ſuras vincire cothurno.
Æneid. 1.

The ancients never reckoned any women handſome, who were not naturally tall, or rendered ſo by dreſs; the Tragic Muſe is always deſcribed taller than any of her attendants *.

What a beautiful ſight is it, ſays Lucian, to behold the tragedian with a ſcornful air, mounted on buſkins, and loaded with rich cloaths to improve his ſize at all points: repreſenting ſome renowned hero, or powerful god †.

The Greek women have retained this ancient attire §§, and the magnificent galoſhes likewiſe. They are as uſeful to the perſon as a pedeſtal to a ſtatue, and would not be improperly called by that name. It appears from

* In cothurnos ne aſſurgat Comœdia.
QUINT.
§ Breviorque videtur
Virgine Pygmeâ nullis adjuta cothurnis.
JUVEN.

† Dialogue on dancing.

§§ French, p. 370.
Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.
VIRG. Ecl. 8. v. 10.

from this circumſtance, that an examination into the cuſtoms of the moderns, is ſometimes a very proper method of inveſtigating thoſe of the ancients; M. Winckleman has made a ſimilar remark in his *Hiſtoire de l'Art.*

" The buſkin*," ſays that author, " was " a kind of ſandal, of a greater or leſs " height, and made of various ſtuffs, ac- " cording to the inclination of the wearer, " but generally a hand high at leaſt. The " Tragic Muſe is always deſcribed with it: " There is a figure in the *villa Borgheſe* " near Rome, which, though not taken for " this muſe, is certainly deſigned for her. " The height of the figure merely, is of a " natural ſize, but it has a real buſkin, of " five Roman palms §. This relict ſerves " to explain ſeveral paſſages of the ancients, " which ſeemed to intimate, contrary to all " probability, that the players who perform- " ed

* Tom. 1. p. 358.

§ The five parts of the Roman palm make three inches and ſix lines of the Paris foot.

"ed in tragedy were of a gigantic ſtature." The whole of the paſſage ſhews, that there is nothing extraordinary in the ſize of the Greek warriors; conſidering, that the artiſan who made the buſkin, formed the hero.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

The ſame.

SIR,

THE paintings of Herculaneum bring to my mind the barbarous cuſtom of whipping and beating children, which, unhappily, is to be found in our ſchools; as well as the Greek; what ſort of fathers muſt thoſe be, who, commit to a ſtranger, the power of inflicting, at his own will, an ignominious and public chaſtiſement on their children. One would imagine it could never have prevailed, but in a nation where rigorous puniſhments were uſed in correcting their ſlaves. Tho' this practice was indeed common among the ancients, yet the worthy part of mankind in thoſe days, treated their ſlaves with gentleneſs, and even fondneſs,

fondneſs, frequently making friends of them, and ſometimes going ſo far as to adopt them for children *.

In the American colonies, the principal planters chaſtiſe their negroes with unrelenting ſeverity, not being otherwiſe able to keep them to their duty; the children of thoſe people being puniſhed with more rigour than ours in Europe, by reaſon of the habit contracted by their parents in the treatment of their ſlaves, generally turn out of a cruel and tyrannical diſpoſition.

I have ſeen the parents in Greece, hold out the rod to their children when they offended; as if there could be no other method found of puniſhing them, but like ſlaves.——From thence is derived that ſhameful

* Epitaph. Græc. Muſæi Veronenſis.
Vivum donavi te libertate, ſed illa
Et priùs utebaris, neque ſervus eras, p. 64.
Lydamen parle à ſon eſclave nommé Denys.

ſhameful practice of ſchoolmaſters, who are indecent enough to bare the backs of innocent children, and at the ſame time that they impreſs marks of the greateſt cruelty on their tender bodies, render their minds callous to that ſenſe of ſhame which ſhould ever predominate in liberal minds.—Here we have the origin of thoſe torturing inſtruments *, ſo laviſhly inflicted by the pedantic tyrants, which Martial very properly calls *ſceptra pedagogorum.* The cuſtom of ancient Greece was to faſten the child to a poſt, or to have him held by ſome perſon, in the Engliſh method of *horſing*, while the maſter was mauling his fleſh. This ſpecies of puniſhment was called *catomium*; § a cuſtom, which to the reproach of mankind, has ever ſince been in practice; perhaps to glut the ſanguine diſpoſitions of thoſe maſters, who are deſirous of making repriſals on the backs of others, for what they had ſuffered on their own. Theſe wretches

* Ferulæ triſtes.

§ Whence the expreſſion χατωμιξειν.

es exerciſe the ſame inhumanity in their turn on the tenderneſs and delicacy of infant youth; which, on the contrary, demands all poſſible care, indulgence and regard. In a word: they treat them more like wild beaſts that require to be tamed.

You will find the picture wherein this method of torturing is deſcribed in *pl.* 41. *vol. III of Her. col.* and at the ſame time you may read the notes of the Academicians on that head.

There you will likewiſe ſee the attitude in which children performed their writing; which was kneeling, upon a board, and with a reed, properly cut; this, they ſtill practiſe both in the Greek and Turkiſh ſchools.

The fan, or peacock's tail, which I have already mentioned, is alſo inſerted in the *ſame vol. pl.* 24. The month of Auguſt is repreſented by the figure of a young man, who has in his right hand a radiant crown,

and

in the other a fan, with which he is refreſhing himſelf.*

In *pl.* 26. *of that vol.* Venus is deſcribed adjuſting her treſſes before a mirror, that has the form of a round racket, and which ſhe holds in her hand. The looking-glaſſes of the ancients were highly poliſhed plates, either of gold or ſilver. You have ſeen ſome of them in the form of the peacock's tail before mentioned; I have alſo obſerved that the barbers of Turky and Greece, generally, preſent one of thoſe racket mirrors to their cuſtomers after ſhaving.

The Greek looking-glaſſes bring to my remembrance an anecdote of poor Apuleius, whoſe enemies imputed to him as a crime, his

* Lambere quæ turpes prohibet tua prandia muſcas,
Alitis eximiæ cauda ſuperba fuit.

Martial. l. 4. Epig. 67. Et modo pavonis caudæ flabella, ſuperbi. Propert. El. 18. l. 2. See likewiſe le Traité des Pierres Gravées de M. Marriette, t. 2. p. 26.

his having a mirror in his poſſeſſion. "What," ſaid they, "a philoſopher have "a looking-glaſs in his houſe!"—"Sup-"poſe I have," replied the ſage, "does "it follow that I play the coxcomb with "it?"

I have already given you an account of the gold chains, which make ſuch a ſplendid part of the Greek ladies dreſs. Theſe you will find in the beautiful figures of the 17. *pl.* 2 *vol.* of the ſame performance. In this plate alſo you have the veil, which falling from the head, ſurrounds the neck, and covers one half of the face. This is the preſent head-dreſs of the Tineſian women, and an exact copy of that given to the nurſe of Achilles. *

In

* Mitris & lanis quædam non velant caput, ſed conligant, a fronte quidem protectæ, quà propriè autem caput eſt, nudæ. Aliæ modicè linteolis, nec ad aures uſque demiſſis, cerebro tenùs operiuntur.

Terbull. de veland. Virg. cap. 17.

In the 35th pl. which repreſents a ſhoe-maker's ſhop, the ſhoes are deſcribed with quarters which reach ſo high as to include the ancle, and reſemble thoſe now worn by the young people in Greece: being a ſort of half-boots, which join to the long drawers, that, among the Orientals come down as low as the feet. Beſide the ſtockings made of ſkin, which are tied to thoſe drawers, they have ſmall boots, very much like the ſhoes repreſented in this piece.

Here the harneſs of horſes is very different from ours, and in ſome meaſure adapted to the dreſs.

Saddles are very ancient; we find them on Trajan's pillar, and alſo in the paintings of Herculaneum *. Theſe, however, were little better than the frames or trees of ours, which they put on the back of the horſe or aſs, previouſly covered with a carpet. Since that time they have improved in this article, and, now, have ſaddles of a very commodious form, with a high

* Pl. XII. t. 2. pl. XLIII. t. 3.

high peak. It is from the carpets before mentioned, that the faſhion of houſing is originally derived; which the Greeks, Perſians, and Turks have retained. The deſcription given by Apuleius, of a horſe's trapping in his days, is no bad picture of what may be ſeen in Greece at this time.

"Rich men," ſays he *, "ſhould be "viewed in the ſame manner with horſes "for ſale.—We ſtrip theſe animals of their "magnificent houſings; pay no regard to "the buckling of their means, or the "richneſs of their collars, whether of gold, "ſilver, or precious ſtones; the beautiful "engravings of their bits, and the gay or-"naments of their ſaddles, are thrown "aſide: in a word to diſcover the good "qualities of the horſe we deſpoil him of "every artificial embelliſhment."

I am greatly ſurprized that M. Marſilli §, in his accounts of the Turkiſh cavalry has not

* De Gen. Socrat.

§ Seconde partie de l'Etat Militaire de l'Empire Ottoman. ch. 13.

not made any mention of their magnificent houſings.

Having gone through the Herculaneum collection, I now take the firſt opportunity of replying to ſuch of your queſtions as remain unanſwered; I ſhall afterwards reſume my purſuit after ſuch of the Greek cuſtoms as I have not yet touched upon.

You aſk if the practice of the Patriarchs in excommunicating inſolvent debtors, or perſons who have failed in their promiſes of payment, has any precedent in the times of the ancients.

I cannot better compare the *Anathemæ* denounced by the patriarchs againſt offenders, than to the public execrations at Athens, poured forth upon the heads of thoſe who miſled the enquiring traveller, or treated a ſtranger with inhumanity. Puniſhing ſuch crimes in a ſevere manner, is a circumſtance that does great honour to the Athenians*.

You

* Quid enim eſt aliud erranti viam non monſtrare, quod Athenis exſecrationibus publicis ſancitum eſt. Cic. de Off. l. 3.

You imagine I am miſtaken in my account of the bridemen and bridemaids; you think the huſband ought to be conducted, or ſupported by men; and the bride, by thoſe of her own ſex. Hear what Oppian ſays, who never cites any examples but from the Greeks: "The bridemaids, "dreſſed in white, conduct the bridegroom "to the nuptial bed, wearing a crown of "flowers, and perfumed with the fineſt "eſſences of Arabia. In the mean while "the place echoes with repetitions of the "ſprightly hymeneal ſong §."

The ſame author puts me in mind of a cuſtom very different from that which is practiſed among us on the ſame occaſions. Formerly, the bride continued ſhut up in her apartments, ſeveral days, without ſeeing any company. Oppian ſays, "She "was not to be ſeen out of her apartments "for many days after her marriage: but "ſhut herſelf up from a modeſt ſenſibility, "which prevailed ſo ſtrongly in her mind, "that

§ De Venat. l. 1. v. 337.

" that the thoughts of being ſeen would " have excited a bluſh of the deepeſt dye on " her cheek *." This cuſtom ſtill prevails in Greece.

Pliny tells us, it was anciently a practice among the Greeks, when a perſon had a favour to aſk of another, to touch his chin §.

In the meeting between Electra and Oreſtes, ſo beautifully contrived by Sophocles, Oreſtes, in order to prepare his ſiſter for ſuch an unexpected interview, endeavours to draw her from the urn where his aſhes were ſuppoſed to be incloſed, but is anſwered by Electra, " *I conjure you by* " *the ſacred face, I now touch with my* " *hand, not to deprive me of this precious* " *depoſit* † "

In the *Monumenti Antichi* (part 2. pl. 137.) Andromache is repreſented with thoſe ſtrong marks of grief, in which Virgil deſcribes

* De Piſcat. l. 4. v. 180.

§ Antiquis Græciæ in ſupplicando mentum attingere mos erat. Plin. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 43.

† Elect. Sophoc. Act. 4. ſc. 1.

deſcribes her, (Æneid. l. 5.), at the court of Helenus; and a young man, ſtanding by her, touches her chin by way of conſoling her.

Petitioners for favours, among the modern Greeks, embrace the knees. The Turks ſometimes ſalute their equals by a touch of the beard; which greatly reſembles the addreſs to the chin §.

"Suitors," ſays Euſtathius, on the firſt book of the Iliad, "touched the head, "kiſſed the hand, or embraced the knees, "of the perſon to whom they addreſſed "their requeſts."

It is proper to obſerve that a petitioning Greek never preſents himſelf before a lordly Turk, or officer of the Grand Signior, without covering his hands by way of

§ Conſtantin Bey, prince of Moldavia, being about to requeſt Tchioban Ogloci a Sarraf, or Armenian Banker, to render him ſome eſſential ſervice, paſſed his hand under his beard, ſtroked and kiſſed it.

reſpect. Thus, among the ancients, they covered their hands with woollen fillets, which hung down from the olive branches they uſually carried.—Æneas being introduced to king Evander, makes uſe of theſe words, "With branches of "the olive, and fillets about our hands, "we implore your aſſiſtance in our diſ- "treſs *."

The Trojan deputies ſay nearly the ſame thing to king Latinus §: "You ſee us "in the poſture of ſuppliants, our hands "covered."

I cannot finiſh this article without relating a paſſage that affected me in a very ſenſible manner, and may ſerve to give you an idea of the natural eloquence of the Greek

* ——————— Me fortuna precari,
Et vittâ comptos volui pretendere ramos.
ÆNEID. l. 8. v. 128.

§ ——————— Ne temne quod ultro
Præferimus manibus vittas ac verba precantum
ÆNEID. l. 7. v. 237.

Greek women. A merchant, the brother of a lady of diſtinguiſhed birth and reſpectable condition, had the misfortune to ſuffer great loſſes, and fail in his affairs. His largeſt dealings were with a foreign nation, whoſe ſubjects were of courſe his principal creditors. The ambaſſador of that nation inſiſted upon payment of the whole, and ſued him with the greateſt rigor. The merchant, conſcious of his inability to diſcharge the full amount of his debts, had no reſource but in the flexibility of the ambaſſador's diſpoſition. The lady took upon her the arduous taſk of waiting upon him in order to excite his compaſſion, and carried the daughters of her unfortunate brother along with her: "My dear nieces," ſaid ſhe, "do not waſte your tears at "home; in vain you vent your ſorrows "here. Come with me, and let us try if "the force of prayers and ſupplications can "melt the heart of that unfeeling man, "who ſeems to take delight in the ruin of "your father. Dreſs yourſelves ſuitably "to your melancholy ſituation, and fol-"low me."

This ſaid, ſhe haſtened with her brother's children to the ambaſſador's palace; but what was her ſurpriſe and grief, when ſhe was informed by the ſervants, that entrance was refuſed her by their maſter's expreſs order. A lady, accuſtomed to be treated with honour and reſpect by every perſon ſhe had any connexion with, could not but feel ſuch a palpable affront in the moſt ſenſible manner. However, having once aſſumed the office of a petitioner, and engaged in ſuch an intereſting cauſe, her courage was not to be damped by a ſingle rebuke; on the contrary, after repeated denials of admittance, ſhe as conſtantly eſſayed to gain it. "Perhaps," ſaid ſhe, "his excellency is "engaged in important affairs, I will re-"ſpectfully wait the time of his going "out." One of the children was ſo affected by this treatment, that ſhe could no longer ſuſtain the exceſs of her grief; her ſight and limbs failing her, ſhe fell into a ſwoon at the palace gate. The affrighted aunt implored their humanity for ſome aſſiſtance to the unhappy child, but the domeſticks, in obedience to their maſter's commands, ſtill refuſed to take the leaſt notice of her,

her, or the children. Exaſperated at their cruelty, the lady ran to the guard of Janiſſaries, who were at that time upon duty, and in the extravagance of her ſorrow cried out:

"O muſſulmans! O ye, whom the "chriſtians call infidels! come to my aſſiſt-"ance, help me to relieve this diſtreſſed "child, who muſt otherwiſe die unpitied "in the midſt of thoſe barbarous chriſtians, "who ſurround us, but refuſe the aid of "a drop of water to ſuccour her. Come "hither, O muſſulmans, let us try if the "voice of indignation joined to the pierc-"ing accents of woe, can reach the man, "inacceſſible to the complaints of the un-"fortunate; let him know that you are "not, like him, deaf to the cries of the "afflicted."

The Janiſſaries flew to the lady's aſſiſtance. Her majeſtic deportment commanded their ſervices. The gathering crowd reviled the domeſticks with the ſevereſt reproaches, till they could no longer reſiſt her importunities, but ran to procure ſome relief; while the doors of the palace flew open, as if by divine interpoſition.

poſition. The ambaſſador himſelf, alarmed at the noiſe, and ſeeing a great mob aſſembled at his gate, came out to enquire the cauſe. This courageous female, ſummoning at that moment, every idea that her juſt indignation could ſuggeſt, and inſpired with the moving ſpectacle which had rouſed every ſpark of ſenſibility within her, ſpoke the language of the ſoul in moſt energetic terms; ſhe reproached him for the obduracy of his diſpoſition, which could hear unmoved the complaints of the wretched; until ſhe rouſed the torpid feelings of his heart. What he denied to her ſupplications, he granted to the dignity of her mind.

La Nouvelle Hiſtoire de l'Afrique of *M. Cardonne*, contains a fine example of female intrepidity;

" In the reign of Conſtance, the ſe-
" cond ſon of Conſtantine III. Gregory
" was appointed protector of the Greeks in
" Africa. He was defeated by the Arabs,
" under the command of Abdullah. The
" daughter of the Protector, after having
" performed prodigies of valour in the bat-
" tle,

" tle, was taken priſoner. My father,
" ſays ſhe, has periſhed; I have ruſhed into
" the thickeſt of your battalions, to ſeek the
" ſame fate: but you have diſappointed my
" hopes."

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXVIII.

The Subject continued. A very ſingular Inſtitution of the Mitylenians.

SIR,

THE ancient Greeks had a method of paying the compliment of a good evening to each other about the time of the ſun's ſetting; this practice is obſerved by the moderns, and is conſidered as a religious duty.

The Greeks, in ſubſcribing to any writing, add the name of their father to their own; and this cuſtom obtains all over the Eaſt. "The Romans" ſays Pauſanias, "never "added their father's name to their own, "whereas on the Greek inſcriptions you will "always find the names of father and ſon "joined together. For inſtance Αρτιμον Ε- "νθυμίυ, Artemon, ſon of Enthymius *."

In

* Muſæum Veron. p. 330.

In the iſland of Mitylene, formerly well known by the name of Leſbos, there is a very ſingular inſtitution; nevertheleſs not entirely void of reaſon, and in all probability derived from the ancient Leſbians. All eſtates, both real and perſonal, deſcend to the eldeſt daughters: whereby the males, and the younger children of the female ſex, are diſinherited. As I did not make any ſtay on the iſland, I cannot atteſt the truth of this circumſtance; but I was aſſured by one of the inhabitants of that part where I landed, that my information was literally true; that the cuſtom was of very ancient date; and that the males had conſented to it, out of love to their ſiſters, and to procure better eſtabliſhments for them. "The men would "have no difficulty," ſays he, "in getting "their right of inheritance reſtored, if they "choſe to claim the benefit of the Turkiſh "law, which admits the children of both "ſexes to an equal ſhare in the parents' "fortune; but the man, who ſhould at"tempt to promote his intereſt by an appeal "to a foreign power, would appear infa"mous in the eyes of his countrymen."

To trace this cuſtom to its origin, it was neceſſary to ſearch into the hiſtory of Greece, for the revolutions which have happened in Mitylene; I here ſubjoin every thing I have been able to find relative thereto.

In the ſecond year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, four hundred and ſeventeen years before Chriſt, the Leſbians renounced their alliance with the Athenians. The inhabitants complained that the republic had forced them to deſert all the other cities of the iſland, and reſide at Mitylene. They therefore put themſelves under the protection of the Lacedæmonians, who received them with open arms. Notwithſtanding the ſuccours which their new allies ſupplied them with, they were defeated in an engagement with the Athenians, and their city was taken by Paches, the ſon of Epiclærus. The citizens of Athens being informed of this event, aſſembled to decide the fate of the unfortunate Mitylenians. Cleon, a man of a violent diſpoſition, propoſed to put to death all the males arrived at the age of puberty, and to make ſlaves of the women and children. The people pronounced the ſentence, but juſt as it

was going to be executed, contrary orders arrived. However the walls of the city were razed to the foundation, and the Athenians divided all the poſſeſſions of the captives by lot, among themſelves, except the country that belonged to the inhabitants of Methymna. So Diodorus relates it *. The ſame author, in another place tells us, that Egyſippus, the Lacedæmonian, haranguing the Syracuſans, to diſpoſe them to act againſt the Athenians, aſſured them that the latter had inhumanly butchered all the inhabitants of the iſland of Mitylene †.

In the mean time, thoſe Leſbians who had eſcaped from the Athenians, forming themſelves into a body, conceived a deſign of re-entering their country by force; but, for the preſent, contented themſelves with ſeizing upon Antandros, a city of Aſia Minor, from whence they made frequent excurſions againſt the Athenians eſtabliſhed at Mitylene; who

* l. 12.

† L. 13. Olymp. 89. an. 2.

who, irritated by theſe inſults, ſent a body of troops againſt them, under the conduct of two generals. Antandros was ſoon obliged to yield to this force; and the Athenians, after murdering all the natives of the city, put the greateſt part of the Leſbians to the ſword, and returned to Mitylene *.

This city came afterwards under the dominion of the Lacedæmonians: but in the fourth year of the hundredth Olympiad, moſt of the Greek cities, ſubject to the Lacedæmonians, revolted. The inhabitants of Chio and Byzantium, were the firſt, that appeared openly, and they were preſently followed by thoſe of Rhodes and Mitylene, who, on this occaſion, threw themſelves into the hands of the Athenians. As in all theſe revolutions there was a great ſlaughter of the men; the women who had loſt their huſbands and ſons, would doubtleſs in making terms with the conquerors, aſſure to themſelves as much of their property, as poſſible, and a ſecurity for the reverſion, to their daughters.

* Diod. l. 12.

daughters. Having once obtained a grant, which recognized them proprietary miſtreſſes of the eſtates, they before held in common with their huſbands; cuſtom and ſubſequent laws have inveſted them with the legal property.

An ingenious traveller, with whom I had ſome diſcourſe, made me acquainted with a cuſtom of the ſame people, ſtill more ſingular than what I have been deſcribing.

"Now," ſays he, "we are upon the topic "of that inſtitution ſo favourable to the "Mitylenian women, let me inform you "of a cuſtom, ſubſiſting at this day, in the "ſame iſland. About three days journey "from the capital, is a ſmall town, where "every ſtranger, when he arrives, is com-"pelled to marry one of the women, even "though his ſtay ſhould be for one night "only. They generally preſent a maiden "to him, whom he muſt take for his wife; "but if he ſhould prove to be a man of any "property or importance, he has the choice "of ſeveral to ſelect one. Travellers of an "inferior rank have no choice, but muſt

"abſolutely

" abſolutely put up with the lady offered
" to them, who, in that caſe, is generally
" the oldeſt and plaineſt in the province. A
" prieſt then appears, who performs the
" marriage ceremonies with great ſolem-
" nity; a nuptial feaſt is prepared; and the
" new-married couple paſs the night to-
" gether. The huſband may depart, if he
" pleaſes, the next morning. If he has any
" money, or valuable effects, and chooſes
" to make his ephemeral wife any preſent,
" it is received, and indeed expected; but
" if he does not, he may proceed on his
" journey without moleſtation. The lady
" thinks herſelf ſufficienly obliged to him
" for having delivered her from the re-
" proach of virginity, which it is ignomi-
" nious to retain, or give to one of the
" province. It is neceſſary for the preſer-
" vation of the lady's honour, that her
" firſt marriage ſhould be with a ſtranger.
" It is of no conſequence whether he re-
" mains with her, or ever returns. At the
" expiration of a year, ſhe may contract a
" new marriage with any man that preſents
" himſelf; and ſhould the former huſband

" appear,

"appear, he would have no legal claim "whatever upon her. The fact is, that a "lady cannot marry to advantage until ſhe "has lain with a ſtranger. This cuſtom is "ſaid to be of the moſt ancient date. The "only alteration the teachers of the Chri-"ſtian religion have been able to effect "among theſe people, in the above parti-"cular, is, that the cohabitation ſhall be "preceded by a marriage, according to "the forms of the church now eſtabliſhed "there. By this compromiſe, the prieſt, "the bride, and all parties quiet the ſcru-"ples of their conſcience."

"This cuſtom, no leſs curious than well "atteſted, deſerves a diſtinguiſhed place in "your memoirs. I recommend it to you "not to return to France, until you have "been an eye-witneſs yourſelf of the truth "of this tranſaction."

I muſt beg to be excuſed. It is a ridiculous cuſtom, which never could have gained footing, but among a groſs, ignorant, and barbarous people, without manners

ners or civilization. Such were the inhabitants of the *Baleares* *, who, according to Diodorus, had a ſtrange practice in their marriages. After the wedding ceremony was performed, and the banquet finiſhed, the male relations and friends, went, each in his turn, and had an interview, though not of a very delicate kind, with the bride. Their age decided the order of their introduction; but it was in every caſe determined that the bridegroom ſhould have his turn the laſt of all †.

The Greeks to this day, follow the advice given them by Heſiod §.

"Turn not," ſays he, "to the ſun when "you would diſcharge your urine; neither "after the ſetting of it, nor during the "night, conduct yourſelf indecently. The "Gods wake, though darkneſs reigns. The "modeſt man ſteps aſide, or retires behind "a wall,

* Now Majorca and Minorca.
† Diod. l. 3.
§ Heſiod. Oper. et Dies, v. 725. &c.

" a wall, to ſatisfy the neceſſities of nature,
" Never let it be ſaid, that even your own
" houſehold beheld you in an unbecoming
" poſture."

I ſhall confine my reſearches into this ſubject, to what I have already ſaid. The bounds of decency and curioſity ſhould ever terminate in the ſame line.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXIX.

Libations.

SIR,

IN the parallels I have drawn between the ancient and modern Greeks, I do not pretend to ſay that I have been an eye-witneſs of every tranſaction therein related, or to aſſert the truth of every circumſtance they contain. However, others, by following thoſe with attention, may purſue my deſign with ſucceſs. M. de Peyſſonel, the French conſul at Smyrna, has obliged me with a curious remark on *Libations*, which I dare ſay you will think merits a place here. His letter of the 3d of Oct. 1768. runs thus: "Mindful of you, and the "work you are about to publiſh, I could "not help taking notice of a circumſtance I "ſaw from my window the other day, "which, it may be uſeful to you to know. "Some Greeks were preparing to launch

"a new

"a new boat. Before they began the ope-
"ration, the builder having called for wine,
"took hold of the cup in which it was
"brought, and ſcattered the wine about
"the poop; offering up at the ſame time
"prayers for the proſperity of the voyage,
"and the health of the proprietor: then
"taking a hearty draught himſelf, he gave
"the cup round to the company. In ſhort
"this was a libation in all its forms."

A Greek feaſt never concludes without ſomething of the ſame kind. The moderns practiſe it equally with the ancients, and never finiſh a repaſt without ſprinkling the wine about the houſe, and uttering vows for the ſucceſs of the maſter, and the proſperity of the gueſts. This cuſtom prevails in the burial ceremony, as well as at the funeral feaſt *.

In

* Mémoires de l' Académie des Inſcriptions. t. 1. p. 351. Poculum boni genii. Cyrene ſays to his ſon, Ariſtæus, during the repaſt;—Cape Mœonii carchefia Bacchi, Oceano libemus. Virg. Georg. l. 4. v. 380.

In former times the ancients never embarked on a voyage without making libations of wine. The Greek ſhip-builder at Smyrna puts me in mind of Æneas, who, before he ſpeaks his parting words to Alceſte, at quitting the iſland of Sicily; ſtanding upright on the prow of his veſſel, with a cup in his hand, throws the entrails of the victims into the ſea, and makes a libation of wine *

In the Odyſſey §, Telemachus, and the ſon of Neſtor being mounted in a chariot, Menelaus follows them with a golden cup, full of wine, that they might not proceed before he had made the libation.

In another part of it, Telemachus ſays to his companions. "Prepare your "oars, and ſpread your ſails." His commands

* Ipſe caput tonſæ foliis evinctus olivæ,
Stans procul in prorâ, pateram tenet, extaque ſalſos,
Porricit in fluctus, ac vina liquentia fundit.
ÆNEID. l. 5. v. 375.

§ L. 15.

mands being put in execution, Telemachus performs his part, by offering on the poop a ſacrifice to Minerva.

In the Iliad *, the Greeks having purchaſed ſome Lemnian wine in exchange for other commodities, no one preſumed to drink of it before libations were offered to the ſon of Saturn.

The poet Nonnus §, in the long detail he has given of the ſepulchral ceremonies, takes care to remember the ſprinkling of wine upon the funeral pile †.

I am,
Sir, Yours, &c.

* L. 7.

§ L. 37. v. 63 & 64.

† See, in Lucian, the dialogue between Charon and Mercury; and, in Plutarch, (life of Ariſtides) the ceremonies uſed at an anniverſary celebration of the Platæans. The perſon appointed to make the libation, holding the cup, ſaid: *I drink to thoſe valiant men, who died in defence of the liberties of Greece.*

LETTER

LETTER XXX.

Remarks on ſome Paſſages in the Spirit of Laws ; *on ſeveral cuſtoms of the Turks ; and on Mahomet.*

SIR,

IT is with great reaſon you obſerve that the famous author of *l'Eſprit des Loix*, has, in his cloſet, inveſtigated the manners of the Oriental people with the ſame accuracy he might have done if he had paſſed his life among them. But you will, I dare ſay, agree with me, that M. De Monteſquieu, notwithſtanding the great excellency of his writings in general, is guilty of incorrectneſs ; ſometimes in ſpeaking of the language of another country, and too often leans upon the faith of travellers. I propoſe to efface a few ſpots, and correct ſome ſlight errors which are to be met with in his juſtly celebrated works.

I could

I could wiſh, in the firſt place, not to have found a miſtake, made by moſt authors who have wrote on the affairs of Turkey; that of uſing indiſcriminately the words *Bacha* and *Pacha*, for the ſame purpoſes.

The word *Bacha* in the Turkiſh language ſignifies maſter; thus a Janiſſary is called *Haſſan Bacha*, that is *Maſter Haſſan*, as we ſay *Maſter James*. The word is derived from *Bach*, importing head or chief.

Pacha, is formed from *Pai*, a Perſian term, which ſignifies, *foot*, and from *Scha*, ſovereign, that is to ſay, the lieutenant of the emperor. This title is only given to vizirs and governors.

"When the law," ſays "Mr. Monteſquieu, gives a maſter a power over "the life of a ſlave *, it is a right he ought "to exerciſe as judge, and not as maſter. "The law ſhould preſcribe ſuch formalities "in the maſter's proceeding, as might take "away all appearance of violence or outrage on his part."

"According

* L. 15. c. 16. p. 285. v. 4.

" According to the Turkiſh law, the " maſter has a power of life and death over " his ſlave, though the civil law in no in- " ſtance authorizes it; we have neverthe- " leſs ſeen an Engliſhman in Turkey, who " hanged one of his ſlaves *. It coſt him " indeed ſome trouble and expence to " free himſelf from the officers of juſtice; " but, as all murders in that country are " commutable, and the price of blood is " in a manner fixed, he ſoon obtained a " pardon."

The Turks, who have no kind of police with reſpect to the plague; ſee the chriſtians of the ſame city eſcape the danger, while they alone fall victims to it; yet buy the cloaths of infected perſons, put them on, and follow their own cuſtoms, notwithſtanding †.

The

* This inhuman circumſtance, cannot be mentioned without horror, perhaps it appears incredible; but among the moſt poliſhed nations, there are ſometimes to be found individuals of the moſt barbarous diſpoſitions.

† L. 14. ch. 11. p. 265.

The French, Engliſh, and a few other nations, are the only ſtrangers who ſhut themſelves up, and take precautions againſt the infection of the plague. The chriſtians of Greece and Armenia, in particular, as well as the Jews, ſuffer greatly at ſuch times; becauſe they expoſe themſelves to the peſtiferous exhalations, in the ſame manner with the Turks. Cuſtom in them gets the better of fear; notwithſtanding, ſome of the Turks are as cautious in guarding againſt the plague as ourſelves. When the deaths exceed a certain number, public prayers are ordered. * But if the Grand Signior was to ſhut up the communication with other nations on every alarm, as in caſes of rebellion, the government would be greatly expoſed from the miſapprehenſions of the people. This joined to the ſcarcity of proviſions which generally accompanies the plague, would not fail to excite frequent inſurrections among the Turks. No doubt the beſt method of guarding againſt the contagion would be by eſtabliſhing barriers towards ſuſpected

* See letter XL. on the plague.

places; and by the cuſtom of Lazarettos, as practiſed by us.——But how is it poſſible to frame a law, ſo neceſſarily rigorous, which would accord with the habitude of deſpotiſm, that knows no law but its own will?

"It is a very commendable practice in "doubtful caſes; for the judges to apply to "the miniſters of religion for advice. Thus "in Turkey the cadis aſk the opinion of "the Mollahs *."

M. de Monteſquieu confounds the Mollahs with the Mufti. The name of Mollah, ſignifies a cadi, or judge of ſuperior rank: notwithſtanding which they both exerciſe the ſame functions. The cadi conſults only the law books, and the lawyers; but when two perſons plead before him, or the Mollah, upon an intereſting or difficult caſe, notwithſtanding thoſe lawyers are ever ſo well inſtructed in the practice of the court on ſimilar occaſions, yet out of reſpect and deference to the ſuperior judge,

* L. 12. c. 29, p. 234.

judge, they refer the caſe, to the Mufti for his deciſion or *fetfa*. The fetfa of the Mufti imports, *permitted*, or *not permitted* by the law. The cadi generally gives judgment accordingly, and ſees it put into execution. The Mufti then, we find, is conſulted as chancellor, or chief interpreter of the law, but when his *fetſa* is clearly contrary to juſtice and law, the cadi will pronounce according to law; ſuppoſing the Mufti to have been miſtaken.

"It is impoſſible to commit the govern-
"ments of the eaſtern families to the care
"of the women, becauſe the Turks ſo of-
"ten change their wives. On this account
"the management of their domeſtic con-
"cerns is in the hands of the eunuchs.
"They entruſt them with the keys of their
"houſe, and the care of their houſhold af-
"fairs. *

The author is again miſtaken. Eunuchs are appointed to guard and attend the women, and to tranſact all affairs abroad,

* L. 16. ch. 14.

as the women are prevented by cloſe confinement to the houſe. But the interior and domeſtic government, of it belongs to the women alone; and the eunuchs never interfere in it.

In all ſorts of proceedings in Turkey, proof by witneſſes, true, or ſuborned, is always eſteemed the ſtrongeſt. This kind of teſtimony is in ſo much conſideration, that at the concluſion of the Ramazan, when the diſcovery of the new moon or feaſt of Bairam is declared; a juridical proof of the moon's appearance is preſented to the cadi by witneſſes, in a formal manner; and he regiſters the depoſitions accordingly.

The Turks appear to have adopted many of the ancient Roman cuſtoms. They build their houſes, like them, of wood; and very ſlight. Magnificence and ſolidity are never thought of, but in public edifices. You have heard, and one cannot too often repeat it, that the Turks are much more attentive to the practice of religious duties than ourſelves. A Turk at prayers

is a juſt picture of devoutneſs and attention.*

Returning one day to Belgrade, with ſome gentlemen on horſeback, I perceived a Turk at prayers in the middle of the road, and could not help regarding him with ſome attention. Thoſe who were of my party aſſured me that if I came up cloſe to him, he would not even turn his eyes to take notice of me. Being young, and a ſtranger in the country, I could not credit their account, but riding up full gallop very near to the man, to my utter aſtoniſhment he remained unmoved; after that I went round him ſeveral times, but he purſued his devotion, riſing and replacing himſelf again on his knees without taking the leaſt notice of me. I made the laſt effort to diſturb him, by going up, and almoſt reſting my horſe's head upon his ſhoulders;

* In the midſt of feaſting, and in a party of pleaſure, at the arrival of the hour for prayer, the Turks will quit every place, and retire to their devotions, in the ſame manner as if they were in the temple.

but he neither uttered the ſmalleſt reproach againſt me for the impertinence of my behaviour, nor ſhewed the leaſt ſign of diſpleaſure.

Before I underſtood the Turkiſh language, I could not forbear laughing when any of the Turks began to ſing. But ſince I have made myſelf maſter of their lauguage, I muſt own that I have not found any thing more affecting or tender than the Turkiſh ſongs. The words generally paint the condition of a heart deeply wounded, and afflicted beyond meaſure. The plaintiveneſs of the ſtile, though monotonous, inſpires a pleaſing ſoft melancholy. It took poſſeſſion of me, in ſpite of the prejudice I had conceived againſt it, and you know I am not ſubject to affectation in ſuch matters, among my countrymen.

I ſhall ſay no more concerning the manners and cuſtoms of the Turks. Ricaud, Lady M. W. Montague, and other travellers, have amply deſcribed them. The only remaining

remaining thing relating to them, which I wiſh I could ſend you, is an excellent treatiſe of M. Bonneval's on Mahomet, which his ſudden death prevented me from getting poſſeſſion of, according to his promiſe, as you will find by the following letter.

Letter from M. le Comte de Bonneval to the Author.

CORROW-SCHESME *, 19*th Auguſt.*

"I HAVE waited from time to time, in "expectation of M. C—'s, arrival, "to whom I intended to have confided the "anſwer to your obliging letter."

"It is now about ſix years ſince my "lord R——, an Engliſh nobleman, ſoli- "cited me in one of his letters, to ſend "him my ſentiments on Mahomet, his "laws, and the religion he eſtabliſhed. "Further, if I had an opportunity, he was "deſirous

* A village on the European ſide of the Black Sea, a ſhort diſtance from Conſtantinople.

"desirous of some reasons for the rapid "advancement of the Arabian nation, in "the three parts of the world known in his "time."

"That lord, my noble and learned "friend, gave me to understand he had "not yet met with any thing published "relative to Mahomet, which was in the "least satisfactory to him. All he had "ever seen upon that subject, were satires "against the prophet and his systems. He "therefore desired me, as I was upon the "spot, to furnish him with some lights "into this interesting subject, and to give "him ingenuously my own sentiments on "the matter; promising, if I wished it, to "observe an inviolable secrecy: adding "withal, that being well convinced of my "impartiality, he would found his opinion "on the intelligence I should communicate "to him."

"Such a request from a man whom I "had the greatest esteem for, (he is since "dead) could not but excite my utmost "endeavours to comply with it. I there-

" fore not only uſed every method myſelf
" to acquire ſome knowledge of the ſub-
" ject, but engaged ſeveral perſons of this
" nation, leſs attached to the vulgar preju-
" dices of it than the reſt, to elucidate
" ſome obſcure points, and faithfully to
" adhere to the truth. I had then a Kiaga,
" native of Ciota, of the houſe of B——,
" called Muſtapha; a man well ſkilled in
" the Arabian language; and who rumaged
" every ancient manuſcript he could find
" that had the leaſt relation to Mahomet.
" He procured the aſſiſtance alſo of other
" perſons, though Muſſulmans, equally ſa-
" cious and ingenuous with himſelf. This
" was attended with conſiderable expence,
" but after a year employed in this man-
" ner, I was enabled by their exact re-
" ſearches, to compoſe *un Eſſai ſur Ma-*
" *homet, ſur ſa Religion, ſur ſes Loix, ſur*
" *ſes Conquêtes, et ſur les Arabes.* It had the
" good fortune to meet with his lordſhip's
" approbation; who a little before his
" death ſent the copy from Portugal, to
" another learned gentleman, who was alſo
" my friend; on condition, that he ſhould
" never ſuffer a copy of it to be given to a
" third

" third perſon. The original is ſtill ſome-
" where in my poſſeſſion; and, if I can find
" it, will moſt readily indulge you with
" the peruſal. I flatter myſelf I have taken
" the right method with this hiſtory, and
" that beſt ſuited to the preſent times, when
" mankind look for truth by a bold *critique*
" without prejudice or prevention."

The being deprived of ſuch a curious and inſtructive work, is a loſs to mankind. M. de Bonneval principally refuted *la Vie de Mahomet* by M. Boulainvilliers. By ſeparating the falſe prophet from the great man, he has made it appear, that Mahomet was a powerful genius, an excellent legiſlator, an able politician, a true conqueror, and one who accommodated his religion to the climate; the fundamental principles of which religion he took from the catechiſm of the Arians. He then proceeded to account for the ſeveral military exploits, and conqueſts of Mahomet. Such was the plan of this work, as I received it from himſelf. If, reſting entirely on the faith of Arabian records, he has been too laviſh of his praiſes on the Muſſulman chief, a judicious and learned

learned reader will discover at once all the restrictions necessary in the literal reading of the text.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXXI.

On the Arts.

SIR,

NOtwithſtanding the few remains of the precious monuments of human excellence, at preſent to be found in Greece, who can ſpeak of that country without being tempted to mention the arts which once reigned there in ſuch wonderful perfection?

In my former letters I glanced ſlightly on the muſic and poetry of the Greeks; but the conquerors of Greece, after the example of the ancient Perſians, no longer permit painting or ſculpture, in figures.

Before

Before the Turks made themſelves maſters of this country, the catholic religion, (a ſyſtem, the beſt adapted to repreſs the paſſions, correct the manners, and ſcreen chaſtity from ſeduction in ſuch a dangerous climate;) I ſay, our holy religion had already proſcribed the uſe of naked figures, and of courſe very much impeded the progreſs of the arts.

The ſovereign authority, combined with a power ſtill more formidable, the rage of fanaticiſm, ſerved to form a ſect of furious devotees, who, under the pretence of aboliſhing an idolatrous practice, indiſcriminately broke and deſtroyed every ſtatue and picture that came in their way *. How is it poſſible that the arts, perſecuted on all ſides with ſuch violent and unremitting fury, ſhould be able to ſupport themſelves even in this country where they had before reigned? In a country, where, copying a ſpectacle the moſt brilliant in the world, they attained that glorious pre-eminence, which gives Greece a right

* The Iconoclaſts.

a right to boaſt of having excelled in them above all other nations that ever exiſted? She may with equal juſtice claim the honor of having formed the taſte of every ſucceeding age.

If, after having viſited every ſource of information to be found on this ſubject, in Greece, ſhould it be inſinuated that I ought, notwithſtanding, to be ſilent, let this be my anſwer: though it is true that the moſt precious monuments of Greece are now to be found in Italy, and chiefly at Rome; yet it muſt be acknowledged, that in this country, the ancient ſeat of the arts, there ſtill remain ſome models of thoſe inimitable works, by which we may be enabled to account for the rapid progreſs made by the artiſts who executed them. The ſame talents, though lying dormant for want of ſtudy and practice, nevertheleſs manifeſtly exiſt in Greece at this very day. A circumſtance, which, perhaps, has not been properly attended to; but I hope I ſhall be able to make it appear, that Greece ought ſtill to be conſidered

ſidered as the moſt uſeful ſchool in the univerſe, for all the arts of deſign.

To form a right judgment in this particular, I would willingly oppoſe to the fineſt paintings lately diſcovered at Herculaneum, and even to thoſe deſcribed by Pauſanias and Lucian, to ſay nothing of other pieces of inferior merit; the ſtriking ſcenes before me. Theſe might ſerve as models to the painters, ſculptors, and poets of ancient Greece, were they to appear again in the world. I would gladly ſketch out what a more ingenious hand may, at ſome future period, bring to perfection.

It is not my deſign to ſpeak of the arts as an artiſt; or, becauſe I am a lover of ſcience, to attempt writing the hiſtory of them: but to look through this nation, which I have attentively ſtudied, for the firſt traces of that exuberant genius which created them; to enquire into the cauſe of ſuch excellence, and the reaſon of its diſappearance; in a word, I would know the ultimate perfection to which the arts have been carried in Greece; I would diſcover,

diſcover, if poſſible, what brought on their decline; and, laſtly, their fall.

I am aware, that it would be in vain to ſeek in this country for thoſe celebrated artiſts, whoſe race is extinct, or for thoſe paintings or ſtatues which have been deſtroyed or carried away. But after having diſcovered ſo many ancient cuſtoms, I alſo diſcover in the ſame climate the very identical genius which formed the maſters ſo renowned in Greece for the practice of the arts: I have actually before me the living pictures, the animated ſtatues, which induſtry and talents muſt copy with ſucceſs.

The ancient Greeks, accuſtomed to public ſpectacles, which the corruption of manners that always prevailed among them, rendered dangerous, unavoidably attached themſelves to the agreeable arts, which repreſented, and, as it were, vivified, the paſſions. Indeed they muſt have been inſenſible, even to a degree of ſtupidity, if, in their circumſtances, they had ſlighted the arts. Warmed as they were by a conſtant

conſtant recital of the animating verſes of Homer; by his brilliant images, and thoſe of other poets; by the marvellous effects related of the power of Orpheus; and laſtly, by the conſtant view of thoſe maſterpieces of painting and ſculpture, with which the temples, and even the moſt inconſiderable places of Greece were adorned, ſuch a neglect would have been unpardonable. Where is the nation that ever did ſo much for the fine arts as the Greeks, or honored them in an equal degree? In the time of war, hoſtilities ceaſed on all ſides at the approach of the Olympic games. Every animoſity, every care, every intereſt ſubſided, when the prize to be diſputed was to be gained by a precedency in the arts. Thoſe diſputes extended even to the prize of beauty. The Greeks reaped the moſt exalted joy from ſuch a victory: the rapturous enjoyment of the fair was conſiderably heightened by the ſatisfaction ariſing from the poſſeſſion of a model for the deſigns of the artiſt.

Greece, in its days of glory, beheld every talent of human nature diſplayed at once,

once, in its greateſt perfection *. The arts, like the graces, go hand in hand. Dedalus had ſcarcely finiſhed his famous labyrinth of Crete, when the mazy dance, ſuch as I have deſcribed it elſewhere, took its riſe, and formed a ſpectacle, the moſt joyous in nature. The Greeks excelled in imitations of every kind; and this talent is ſtill their own. Their dancers and pantomime players carried it to a degree of perfection ſcarcely credible. Nero, according to Lucian, had a Greek ſo ſkilled in pantomime, that he could repreſent the principal paſſages of the heathen mythology; the reſemblance of the facts, and the energy of the action with which he preſented them, had ſuch an effect on the ſpectators, that their imaginations could ſcarce ſubmit to believe it to be a deception. A foreign prince, who was on a viſit to Nero, being preſent at his performance, entreated the emperor to let him take the man home with him. Nero, expreſſing ſome ſurprize at

* ——————Omnia tempus
Nacta ſuum properant naſci. CLAUD.

at his requeſt: "There are, ſays the prince, "bordering upon my country, a barbarous "people, who could never be brought to "comprehend our language; I think this "man might ſerve as an interpreter to "convey our meaning to them *.

The ſeveral improvements of the dance kept pace with thoſe of muſic. Theſe two arts flouriſhed together at Argos. Soon after the charms of poetry joined them. The recital of Homer's Golden Verſes, uſhered in this acquiſition; Simonides, the father of elegy, followed him, in more tender ſtrains. Tragedy, from the ruſtic car of Theſpis, brought forth the buſkin which ſhe had received from Æſchylus; and at length the whole circle of arts uniting at Athens, acknowledged Greece for their native ſoil.

Such was the happy influence of the communication of genius, upon that ſpiritual nation. Muſic, dancing, poetry, painting,

* Dialogue on Dancing.

painting, ſculpture, in a word, all the arts, when re-aſſembled, mutually ſuſtained and perfected each other. The walls of Thebes ſprang up to the harmonious ſounds of the lyre. The muſician and the dancer became painters; and the painter, a poet. Homer tells us, the bed in which Penelope ſlept, was the work of Ulyſſes' own hands. That he was both an artiſt and a deſigner, is paſt diſpute. While he was relating his adventure with Rheſus, to Calypſo, he could not help ſketching it out in the ſand *.

Thus Titian ſpeaking of his own pieces, ſays, in a poetical ſtyle: *I have painted the ſtory of Venus and Adonis.*———I ſhall ſoon ſend you *the poem of Perſeus and Andromeda* †.

Nature alone produced the painters, ſculptors, muſicians, and poets of ancient Greece;

* In ſpiſſo littore pingit opus.
OVID. de Arte Am. L. 2.

† Journal Etranger, Mai, 1760.

Greece; in a word, all the men of genius, whoſe works raiſed that country to ſuch a glorious pitch of renown, owe their ſucceſs to nature. A lively agreeable imagination, an active ſpirit, a fine organization, a delicate taſte, or rather exquiſite ſenſibility, aſſiſted by a clear ſky, by the proſpect of a moſt beautiful country, and by a government, the beſt adapted to extend, diſplay, and aggrandize the genius of man; which, without the bleſſing of liberty can never act with its true force; theſe are the advantages nature ſo bountifully beſtowed on the Greeks. They had nothing to do but to turn towards the objects ſhe preſented, and exerciſe the talents ſhe gave them; the arts followed. Poſſeſſing a taſte formed by the habitude of ſeeing and producing the moſt beautiful things, the empire of the arts inſenſibly eſtabliſhed itſelf; the whole ambition of the people centered in a deſire to promote that empire, and to eſtabliſh the glory of their country.

But if genius is to be conſidered as the father of the arts, liberty certainly deſerves

to

to rank as their mother. Cheriſhed in her boſom, they throve; but abandoned by this foſter parent, they fled from conquered, ruined, Greece. The arts have experienced the ſame fate in all countries. The Etruſcans who followed the foot-ſteps of the Greeks, and ſhone in the arts, to a degree of rivalſhip with them; falling a prey to the Roman power, ſunk into their original ſtate of barbariſm *.

I have already ſaid, that the loſs of liberty among the Greeks, drew after it the ruin of the arts. You cannot be unacquainted with an ancient law of Athens, whereby the art of painting was forbid to ſlaves; the Athenians, judging it a degradation of that art to permit the exerciſe of it by ſervile hands †.

It ought alſo to be obſerved, that the moſt famous artiſts among the ancient Greeks,

* A man in a ſtate of ſlavery, has loſt one half of his underſtanding, ſays that great panter of nature, Homer.

† Webb on Painting.

Greeks, were diſtinguiſhed by the higheſt honours, and that proper judges were appointed to decide upon the merit of their performances *. The modern Greeks have no advantage of this kind to hope for. At preſent in France, and other countries where the arts are encouraged, the profeſſors of them are generally enriched by their labours, and by the time they arrive at the ſummit of their profeſſion, commonly dignified with ſome mark of honor. It is certain that in the advancement of the arts, the proſpect of riches has no effect in proportion to the emulation excited by ambition.

The love of glory elevates the ſoul, and every artiſt born to pre-eminence above the reſt, is more ſenſible of rank and honors, than of the poſſeſſion of riches. The latter he can only enjoy in common with many unworthy perſons, which muſt lower them in the eſtimation of one whoſe ſoul is ſuperior to a ſordid idea. Beſide, the poſſeſſion

* Hiſtoire de l'Art. Tom. 1. p. 231.

ſion of money generally produces a thirſt for more, and a taſte for luxury; diſpoſitions which muſt ſooner or later emaſculate and corrupt the mind, and deprive the artiſt of thoſe talents which conducted him to independency; or they will have this effect, to render him negligent of the advancement of his fame.

Should I ever arrive at the honor of being quoted among the lovers of the arts, (far as I am from thinking myſelf intitled to it) it would give me great uneaſineſs to be charged with an unjuſtifiable paſſion for antiquity, or an attachment to national prejudices of any kind whatſoever. I would above all things wiſh to avoid that ridiculous predilection, which ſome people have for every performance, however little deſerving notice, that claims its origin from Greece. I am well aware, that from the multiplicity of works the Greek artiſts were engaged in, a prodigious number of indifferent productions muſt have eſcaped them. Moſt of the intaglios, circulated in Italy and the Levant, are to be reckoned of that claſs; indeed it is very difficult to find a good one.

The Greeks, accuſtomed to ſee the repreſentation of their heroes, muſt neceſſarily have a great attachment to the arts of which their country has been in poſſeſſion for ſo many ages paſt.

Chriſtianity, in overturning the objects of a profane worſhip, paid due regard to the ſtatues of the emperors, and other illuſtrious men. It is a ſyſtem with which the arts, juſtly bounded, perfectly coincide, in that reſpect. As ſoon as the Greek nation was well eſtabliſhed in the Chriſtian faith, and there was no reaſon to fear a return to idolatry; the fathers of the Chriſtian church, in order to accommodate their religion to the bent of the people's inclinations, permitted them the uſe of images. Nothing leſs than the commands of a ſavage emperor, who was alſo an ignorant ſoldier, could have deprived them of thoſe ornaments in their public buildings. That emperor, who was born in Iſauria *, and connected with the Saracens

* Leon the Iſaurian.

racens and Jews, had conceived an aversion for all kinds of figures and representations, which these people had banished from their temples. It required the utmost efforts of fanaticism, to establish a sect of Iconoclasts in this country; a system so opposite to the principles of the Greeks *.

"The more we study the ancients, "says M. Caylus, the more we are struck "with their merit, and the superiority of "the Greeks in all works of genius. Justness of thinking and simplicity are most "happily blended in all their productions. "That affectation or display of wit, with "which the moderns are so tormented "upon all occasions, was introduced late

 "into

* Notwithstanding which, Theophilus, the son of the emperor Michael, and a persecutor of the images like his father, not only caused to be effaced from the churches such as represented the saints; but to prevent every possibility of a return of that practice among the Christians, he drove away all the painters from his dominions.

Hist. Univ. de M. Hardion, tom. 2.

" into Greece, and from the period of its " arrival in that nation, their fine taſte " has been gradually upon the decay. The " ſlow progreſs made of late years in the " advancement of knowledge, and the im- " provement of our talents, ariſes princi- " cipally from our neglect of the ancients, " and the deviation made from thoſe great " examples they have left us *."

The arts, ſince their firſt decay in Greece, have from time to time made attempts towards a re-eſtabliſhment; but their efforts might be compared to thoſe of the feeble light of a flambeau, endeavouring to ſpread itſelf, while ſurrounded by the humid vapors of a thick fog. In the tenth century, the emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenetus being dethroned by the uſurper Romanus Lecaperus, and abandoned by his ſubjects, had recourſe to painting, for a ſubſiſtence †.

The

* Recueil de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, Tom. 19. p. 451.

† Picturam pulchrè exercendo ſibi victum in quærente. Diſſertation de M. le C. de Caylus

The modern Greeks, notwithſtanding, have done as much towards *detaining* the arts as could be expected from a people in their circumſtances. While the men are applying themſelves to commerce, navigation, agriculture, and manufactures. (in which laſt article they have ſucceeded ſo well as to imitate very exactly thoſe made at Lyons, and by the Turks,) the women deſign, embroider, and ſhade all ſorts of flowers, fruit and leaves, in a manner truly worthy of admiration.

The moſt ingenious among them, dare not take the pencil to draw figures, neither muſt the painter publicly make uſe of that liberty.

It was however in this manner that the ſon of Soliman Capitan, ſince an admiral in the Turkiſh ſervice, amuſed himſelf during his cruizes in the Archipelago, with painting the moſt beautiful women of

Caylus ſur les Princes qui ont cultivé les arts. Mémoires de l'Academié des Inſcriptions. Tom. 29. page 165.

thoſe iſlands *. I am not ignorant that all men are born with an inclination to copy what they ſee, though it is reſerved for a very few happy geniuſſes to ſucceed in the arts of imitation; accordingly the ages in which they lived have been rendered illuſtrious by their productions. To return to our modern Greeks, who, as I mentioned before, ſtill delight in feaſts, paſtimes, public ſpectacles and luxury. The government impoſes ſome laws, which prevent their carrying thoſe particulars to the exceſs they are inclined to. All exterior pomp and ſplendor is forbid to the Greeks, but they indemnify themſelves for the deficiencies without doors, by the magnificence that reigns within. In the houſes of the richeſt men you will find all the taſte, diſpoſition and grandeur of the ancient inhabitants of Athens; whoſe buildings likewiſe had nothing to boaſt of as to their external appearance,

* He gave one of his pieces to M. le Comte Deſalleurs, the French ambaſſador at Conſtantinople.

appearance *, but within were ſumptuouſly provided with every article which could contribute to luxury and voluptuouſneſs. The moderns, like their progenitors, never hang their rooms, but their walls are painted with vaſes and flowers after the beſt manner †. Figures are never uſed on thoſe occaſions.

The cielings are carved and gilt in a very ſuperb taſte, and ſurrounded with plaiſtered cornices of exquiſite workmanſhip.

The Greeks, when they think they have the favour of government, and can ſafely treſpaſs againſt the laws, generally begin in the particular of building. In that caſe they know no bounds, but indulge their paſſion for a ſumptuous palace in the higheſt method of gratification. The miſfortunes often brought upon their nation by a diſplay of this kind, is not a ſufficient

* Origine des loix. Tom. 3. l. 6.
† Hiſtoire de l'Art. Tom. 2. p. 84.

caution to them to avoid it. The unfortunate Greek Stavraky, who built on the banks of the Euxine, a few miles from Conſtantinople, the moſt beautiful palace that had ever been ſeen in that country, is a melancholy inſtance of the diſmal conſequences attending a blazon of riches under the Turkiſh government. This Greek, though formerly the Grand Seignor's chief favourite, became at laſt his prey; in order to ſeize on his wealth, the Sultan ſacrificed the life of one he had long careſſed as his friend; and ſhewed the barbariſm of his mind, by cauſing the palace to be raſed to the ground.

Yet this fatal example could not deter another vain Greek from erecting a more magnificent houſe on the very ſpot where Stavraky's palace ſtood.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXXII.

The ſubject continued.

SIR,

IT would be an eaſy matter to judge of the ſource and progreſs of imitation by the ſentiments which naturally ariſe from the contemplation of thoſe beauties ſtill to be ſeen in Greece.

The ſame ſun which formerly enlivened this country, continues to ſhine with undiminiſhed ſplendor, while ſo many other nations are environed with fogs and a clouded atmoſphere. The pureneſs of the air, the ſoftneſs of the climate, the ſerenity of the day, inſpire ideas ſuperior to any thing, but the objects to be met with in this country. Every woman I meet, conveys to my imagination a Venus from the chiſel of a Praxiteles, or the pencil

of an Apelles; a regular form; black ſparkling eyes, animated with natural fire; a ſhape, elegant and majeſtic; a plain dreſs, with robes of the fineſt tranſparent ſtuff, ſo contrived to diſcover the beautiful ſymmetry of the body and limbs. Such are the women of Greece. At home they are free, gay and eaſy in their deportment; in public reſerved, and as it were muffled in their dreſs; the arms being concealed by long narrow ſleeves which ſcarce permit the extremity of the fingers to be ſeen. It is at their villas in the country they give a looſe to the greateſt negligence and freedom in converſation*. What

* The number of Greeks in Pera, and at *Tarapia* are conſiderably increaſed of late years, and it is univerſally agreed by the French reſiding at Conſtantinople, that the women of that nation are the moſt perfect beauties you meet with in Turkey. M. de Favrai, who made a very valuable collection of pictures for M. le Chevalier de Vergennes, and was ſo obliging to favour me with ſeveral deſignings of his own, will bear witneſs to the

What imagination ſo dull but muſt ſee at one view where the painters and ſculptors of ancient Greece found their models. With us, the pupils in training for the arts know nothing of deſigns from nature; poor feeble daubings are the copies from which their genius is to be formed: whereas

the truth of my aſſertion relative to the fair Greeks. Bélon, whom I have already quoted, ſpeaking in his obſolete language, upon the ſubject of the circle, which the Greeks make with the thumb and fore-finger, to deſign handſome eyes, ſays, "This compariſon of "of the circle is very ancient among the "Greeks, and much celebrated in their "writings. The Greeks, good judges of "female beauty, gave to women of that claſs, "the ſurname of *Platyophthalmos*, or *large* "*eyes*:" But this was on account of the arched eye-brows, which are very becoming to women of great faces. Thoſe who will take the trouble of examining the ſtatues and medals of ancient Greece, will find the eyes exceſſively large in compariſon with thoſe on the Roman medals. Page 442. chap. 33, called *Lonanges d'une Beauté excellente, &c.* or *Beauté a la Grecque.*

whereas in Greece, nature, and the moſt beautiful of its productions regulated the the taſte of their young artiſts. It was the power of beauty, operating, not upon the ſoul or the ſenſes, but on that activity of ſpirit, which, joined to a natural taſte for imitation, irreſiſtibly urged them to deſigns of this nature. What was merely agreeable ſoon obtained the appellation of beautiful.

The force of a ſtrong imagination brought forth the boldeſt and moſt lively ſtrokes; and the judgment, by comparing thoſe with more regular finiſhed lines, joined theſe two maſter qualities together, and ſoon arrived at the utmoſt perfection art was capable of. It is ſaid, that Love firſt brought forth the art of deſigning one figure from the outlines of another, and that the daughter of a potter at Corinth, was the firſt who invented it; * her

* Dibutades, a potter at Corinth, was the author of the firſt work in plaſtick. The idea was ſuggeſted to him by his daughter, whoſe paſſion for her lover furniſhed her with the

her paſſion for her lover ſuggeſted the idea of drawing a figure from his ſhadow to conſole her in his abſence. It is then to beauty, to that quality, ſo much more eaſy to admire than to define, that we owe the art of imitating natural figures.

Thoſe ſtriking beauties generally denominated the beauties of the taſte or fancy, and which ſeduce at the firſt view, are of a very different nature from thoſe in which the perfection of art conſiſts, but the ingenious mind knows how to ſeparate and re-unite them in greater excellence. They will neither admit of deſcription or diſcuſſion, it is imagination that judges them, and which, being rapidly excited, does not wait for the aſſiſtance of the underſtanding to decide in their favour. This is the caſe with moſt of our modern works. But the beauties of ancient Greece, ſuch as the Venus of Medicis, and the famous performances of Guido, Raphael, and Corregio, are beauties of the firſt rank, which

the thought of tracing his ſhadow, as it was produced upon a wall, from the light of a lamp.

which perhaps may not ſtrike the eye of every beholder at the firſt view, becauſe the refinement and correctneſs of the execution are imperceptible to all but true judges of the arts. Like ſublime thoughts, they appear more and more beautiful from a nearer inſpection, and a more ingenious and accurate inveſtigation. Thus the fineſt women of Greece, after having ſerved as models to the ſculptor, became, in his ſtatues, ſo many deities, and the objects of national worſhip. The tribune Clodius, after procuring the baniſhment of Cicero, erected a ſtatue of liberty on the ſpot where the houſe of that great man formerly ſtood; the ſtatue originally repreſented a courtezan of Tanagra, in Bæotia *. I ſhall have occaſion to cite many inſtances of the ſame kind, in my future application of the remarks I have made on the modern Greeks, to the arts of ancient Greece. In order to account for their progreſs I know of no method ſo eligible, as that of ſearching

* Hiſtoire Romaine de Creviér, tom. xii. p. 190.

ing for the beauties which ſerved them as models; to enquire into the formation of their original ideas, as well as the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of their numerous divinities.

I have availed myſelf of the liberty you have hitherto indulged me with, of throwing out my ideas ſpontaneouſly upon paper, without correction or method. You will eaſily perceive that the enthuſiaſm of this nation has taken poſſeſſion of me, and carried me ſomething out of the way, and at other times too far; I cannot deny it. It inſpired me with the boldneſs of advancing before M. Marriette, that the Greeks had the advantage of a nearer view of nature than ourſelves, that they had ſeen her in the brilliancy of youth, and in the May of life; whereas we had only ſeen her in the age of wrinkles. He anſwered, that nature never grows old. The truth of the anſwer confounded me. He added what follows. I will give it you in his own words, as well to ſhew you that I can acknowledge an error, as to prevent ſuch wanderers as myſelf from going

going aſtray, in future, in the ſame manner.

" It is a palpable error, ſays he, to ſup-
" poſe that the perfection we find in the
" works of the Greek artiſts, is to be im-
" puted chiefly to the beauty of the ori-
" ginals in nature, from which they co-
" pied; which beauty, we are told, ſur-
" paſſed every thing to be found in this
" country. If that had been the caſe, all
" the works of the Greeks, even thoſe of
" inferior artiſts, muſt in ſome degree have
" felt the impreſſion. But it is abſurd to
" imagine that the productions of Greece
" are all capital performances. Very few
" ſuch remain, and thoſe bear no propor-
" tion to the number of indifferent pieces,
" which have eſcaped, likewiſe, the ge-
" neral ruin. In theſe laſt we ſee nothing
" like the imitation of nature, accom-
" pliſhed in all its parts. What was it
" then that guided the great artiſts to
" works ſo ſuperior in their kind, ſo
" abounding in excellence? It was a re-
" fined taſte, and delicacy of ſentiment;
" a juſt idea of the truly beautiful; a
" rich

" rich and brilliant imagination; and the " nice talent of producing perfect at once, " whatever their genius had happily con- " ceived. Thus in our days, Corregio, " Guido, and other painters who were ſo " fortunate to enjoy the rare gifts of diſ- " cerning the true beauties of nature, and " feeling their juſt force; thoſe famous " men, I ſay, produced their excellent " works from the ſtrength of their own " imagination, and not from living models, " which never could have inſpired thoſe " great and divine ideas, (if I may uſe " the expreſſion) with which they were " animated. It is a fact well known, " that ſome of the fineſt faces drawn by " Guido, and which might even diſpute " the prize with the beſt ancient Venus's, " were frequently copied from models of " a very inferior claſs of beauty. Be aſ- " ſured the ancients practiſed in the ſame " manner."

I dare not oppoſe my feeble conjectures, to ſuch a powerful authority; but after having thus ingenuouſly ſtated the caſe, permit me to proceed in ſhewing you the manner

manner in which I have reaſoned on thoſe things that have fallen under my obſervation; not forgetting the ancient Greeks, while I am deſcribing their ſucceſſors, the moderns.

The Greek artiſts having laid it down as a rule, to copy nature exactly, without ever deviating from her, could not fail to deſign correctly in every inſtance: They had beſide other advantages which we have not. The opportunity of ſeeing men and women go into the baths, at all times, have furniſhed them with the moſt preciſe and juſt ideas of the beauties of the human body, and of that floridneſs of youth ſo well expreſſed in their works. They had likewiſe the further advantage of the wreſtlers and the *Athletæ*, from whom they ſtudied, the movements of the nerves, the play of the muſcles, and the inflexions of the limbs; the moſt noble and agreeable objects were perpetually before them. They watched for theſe models of imitation, in order to ſurpriſe and obſerve them in the moſt advantageous ſituations.

A young

A young Greek beauty riſing in the morning, would preſent you, without being herſelf the leaſt conſcious of it, a number of motions and ſituations the moſt favourable in nature for imitation. The moment ſhe is up, ſhe throws herſelf in a careleſs poſture on the ſofa, ignorant all the while that ſhe is entirely undreſſed. The day-light dazzles her eyes, ſhe endeavours to open them, but cannot as yet bear the face of day; ſhe ſits, lolls, reclines, croſſes her legs, leans her head upon her hand; in a word, all her ideas being reſolved into indulgence, ſhe throws herſelf ſucceſſively into every attitude which the moſt ſimple nature dictates, and is herſelf an enemy to that art which would counterfeit it. This is the time for the painter or ſtatuary to approach *; now let him explore, with eager eyes, the native grace of her motions, the ſoftneſs and pliancy of the inflexions of her limbs, which the beautiful Greek, from innocence of

* Pictrices fœminæ. *Pliny.*

of heart, and indolence of ſpirit, is diſplaying to his view!

Such, in my opinion, were the models which directed the hand of the ſkilful artiſt.

Agreeable to this opinion are the ſentiments of a modern writer. Upon examining the attitudes and poſitions of a Greek ſtatue, ſays he, we may obſerve a decency without ſeverity, a negligent grace, and the ſituation of one, unconſcious of being obſerved.

M. le Comte de Caylus, deſcribing the ancient Venus Aphrodite, or famous Anadyomene, which repreſented Venus coming out of the bath, does not ſay that Apelles painted it from imagination; he ought to have told us, he painted that Venus not from an hundred of the fineſt women in Greece, as we read in the dictionary of painting, by the Abbé de Marcy *, but from

* Tom. 1. p. 21.

from the celebrated courteſan Phryna; whoſe impudence was ſo conſummate, that, at the feaſt of Neptune, ſhe went, without bluſhing, to bathe in the ſea, in the preſence of the people of Eleuſin, and and afterwards came out naked, like Venus, before their view, holding up and wiping her long treſſes. How could he poſſibly omit this anecdote, grounded upon the authority of Athenæus *?

Modern Greece, independent of pieces like thoſe I have already deſcribed, ſtill preſents the human form in its higheſt ſtate of excellence. Every day, every hour you meet with beauty worthy of the pencil of an Apelles, and of the elogies M. Marriette gives to the Cytherean goddeſs; repreſented on an antique ſtanding near the god of war, who is fired at beholding the lovely fair †.

The Greek painters knew very well how to diſtinguiſh between a portrait of the

* Athen. l. 1. Rhodig. l. 14. c. 15.
† Traité des Pierres gravées, t. 2. p. 19.

the imagination, and one taken immediately from nature. Plutarch tells us, Euphranor having ſeen the Theſeus of Parrhaſius, ſaid, *That it ſeemed to have been fed upon roſes, whereas his own, done after a robuſt and nervous body, had the appearance of one both fed and covered with fleſh* *.

It is that perfect imitation of beauty, which, according to a French poet,

Repreſente les Dieux, et les fait oublier;
GOMBAUD.

that has multiplied the gods of Greece; and I am very much inclined to think the repreſentations of their inviſible deities, were no other than copies from viſible beauties. Monſtrous and deformed objects would ſuffice for an ignorant race of men; and if ſuperſtition preſerved for ſome time any ſuch among the Greeks, it was no longer than till the progreſs of taſte, following

* Plutarch's Diſc. on the Athenians.

lowing the arts of deſigning, brought forth capital productions in the arts of painting and ſculpture.

The Greeks paid the ſame homage to Phidias' majeſtic figure of Jupiter, as to the original Jupiter of Homer. Modeſt beauty, under the appellation of Minerva, attracted the admiration and reſpect of the Athenians.

The reſpectable appearance of old age, and the more intereſting charms of youth, received the ſame degree of worſhip from their adorers; as we find in the ſtatues of Saturn and Apollo. Hebe and Ganymede, were both numbered among the celeſtials *.

The

* Such is the ancient beautiful Ganymede at Venice, which is falſely attributed to Phidias. *Deſcription de l'Italie de l'Abbé Richard*, tom. 2. p. 294. I ſay falſely, from the authority of M. Marriette, who tells us, that Dom. Montfaucon, and the Abbé Richard were both miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to be the artiſt.

The arts deified the paſſions, in perſonifying them; and in a country where the imagination, naturally lively, brilliant, and fertile, was further inflamed by excellent models of every kind, the natural eloquence of the people muſt of courſe be energetic and ſublime. Thus Envy had its ſerpents; Jealouſy was a hideous monſter; Vengeance, a threatning figure, brandiſhing an homicidal ſword; and Love bore the deſcription of a rage or tranſport of the ſoul. The genius of the Greeks is ſtill the ſame. Their paſſions are little leſs than tempeſts of the mind, and the arts, in deſcribing them, have uſed the ſame energy. Theſe are ſcenes which I have been a witneſs to in modern Greece, and they naturally ſuggeſt the deſire of comparing them in the ſeveral particulars to the like diſpoſitions among the ancients in the progreſs of the arts. But if the arts no longer reſide in a country where every incident formerly concurred to raiſe them to the perfection they attained; where they actually reigned with a ſovereign controul; and where I will be bold enough to add, nature had herſelf

expreſly

expreſly ſeated them: ſtill the ſeeds, the principles of the art, remain, and ever muſt continue, becauſe the ſame heaven, the ſame objects, the ſame nature and expreſſion, ſtill ſubſiſt there.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXIII.

The ſubject continued.

SIR,

I Hope to be indulged with your pardon for any warmth of expreſſion that may eſcape me, in conſequence of a heated imagination: I muſt beſpeak the ſame favor for the poetical expreſſions which the images I ſhall preſent you with ſeem to require. Impelled by the ſubject of my enquiries, and guided ſolely by the idea of thoſe prodigies of art, and the view of the univerſal model before me, my imagination is apt to run riot. However, I will venture to aſk myſelf what nature is, conſidered with reſpect to the works of art?

Nature ever was, and always muſt be, the artiſt's model, his rule, and his law. She

She is in the painter the ſimple but faithful image of all objects, whether living or inanimate, detached or united, but ſtill in their true places. She is alſo the expreſſion of every movement of the ſoul; of all the paſſions rendered ſenſible, in whom or in what manner ſo ever excited; whether gently, like the undulations of the ſea, from the ſofteſt zephyrs, or like trees rooted up by the impetuoſity of the bluſtering winds. The painter places the objects before us, and the picture makes the ſame impreſſions upon our ſenſes, even upon the ſoul itſelf, as the natural objects themſelves. Sculpture makes ſtill bolder advances, to render the object ſhe deſcribes more ſenſible to the imagination, and palpable to the touch. Poetry ſpeaks, at the ſame time, to the eyes, the ears, the heart, and the underſtanding: the more her images reſemble nature, the more capable they are of captivating the imagination, and ſtirring the paſſions of the ſoul; either by the repreſentation of agreeable ſcenes, or from the more powerful force of the pathetic. Muſic has powers no leſs expreſſive: dancing is endowed with illuſive

charms; but then it muſt be obſerved, that the imitation ſhould, at the firſt view, have the power of protruding itſelf on the minds of the beholders, for the original; it muſt produce the ſame effect which a portrait of Amantes' lovely ſhepherd excited in the imagination of the fair at firſt ſight———

* *Qu'en s'ecrient,* C'EST LUI, *c'eſt lui-même,* ſans doute.

Nature, in painting, is only the genuine, true, faithful, and exact picture of the objects of our perceptions; of every thing the univerſe preſents to our imagination. The philoſopher ſays, *Attend, and I will explain.*

* Oh! Dieux, que de plaiſir ſi, quand j'arriverai,
Elle me voit plutôt que je ne la verrai,
Et du haut du côteau qui decouvre ma route,
En s'écriant: c'eſt lui, c'eſt lui-même, ſans doute,
Pour deſcendre à la rive elle ne fait qu'un pas,
Vient juſqu'à moi peut-être, &c.
Segrais, Eglog. à Madem. de Vertus.

explain. The painter ſays, *Open your eyes, and ſee nature.* The productions of nature, are formed, multiplied, arrive at their utmoſt growth, and then decay; according to the reſpective laws of formation, growth, and the ſucceſſive renovation of beings.

Nature, beautiful even in her greateſt ſimplicity, works ſlowly, by uniform laws, but by various and hidden ſprings. In one place, a miſer of her gifts, in another, prodigal of her favours, yet always in action. By what ſhe does openly to finiſh her works, ſhe inſtructs man, condemned to labor, how to co-operate with her in thoſe things neceſſary to his exiſtence and happineſs. Thus the univerſal model is a continual leſſon to the workman, to which he cannot pay too great an attention.

Nature has not ſo far concealed all her ſecret machinations, but piercing eyes will penetrate ſome of them; her moſt wanton and fantaſtic ſports are often objects of inveſtigation and delight, even to the ſage himſelf.

Let the covetous artiſt, like a child, gather about him every thing he can take away, or by any means procure: let him pleaſe himſelf with contemplating the productions of nature, or the imitation of her works in his own poſſeſſion; but in copying his model, let him take care never to disfigure it, nor give it thoſe colors, movements, or expreſſions, which render viſible any appearance of the unfaithfulneſs of art. Never yet were the clear entire notes of a fine voice imitated by feigned ſounds. Embelliſh nature with great diſcretion; let the delicate pencil render the moſt affecting objects the moſt agreeable; but then the beautiful muſt always be the true; even in poetry, when the roſes ſpontaneouſly ſhoot out from the blood of Adonis, which ſtreams before our eyes.

The man accuſtomed to embelliſh nature, as he cultivates her productions, to lop off (as our modern Pliny ſays *) the thorns

* Hiſtoire Naturelle, t. 12. p. 11.

thorns and the briar, to multiply the grape and the roſe; cannot imitate, without wiſhing to add ſomething to his model; without pretending to equal it; and without imagining ſomething ſuperior to nature, in his own ideas.

Now, this ideal beautiful, being but abſtracted and independent, ſhould be formed from the ſtudy of nature, or a happy choice and aſſemblage of images, which, by their proper relation to each other, unite in the greateſt perfection. Thus Zeuxis, in order to form a Helen according to his wiſhes, took for his models, five young women, and combining the different traces of the objects before him; he drew one of the moſt perfect pictures of beauty * that ever appeared.

* Agrigentinis facturus tabulam, inſpexerit virgines eorum nudas, et quinque elegerit. Plin. l. 35. c. 9. p. 736.

Lucian wrote of the truly beautiful. To form the portrait of a perfect beauty, he aſſembles the forehead and eyes of Praxiteles' Venus; the turn of the face, cheeks and noſe of

The idea of the truly beautiful was always conceived from nature; by which it ſhould ſeem that the artiſt has nothing to do with creating of beauties; his buſineſs is only to aſſemble and unite thoſe of nature; for art generally recedes from its model, when it attempts to embelliſh. Who does not find the regularity of a parterre, and the ſtraight lines in which garden walks are ſometimes laid out, vaſtly inferior to the natural meadow enamelled with flowers, and the wild and tufted wood, watered by a murmuring rivulet?

The

of Phidias' Lemnian woman: the mouth and ſhoulders of his amazon; the neck and fine hand of the Venus of Alcamene; the ſmile, modeſt appearance, and drapery of Calamis' Soſandrian; the youthful air of the Venus of Cnidus; the hair of Euphranor's Juno; the beautiful colours and graces of the Caſſandra of Polygnotus; the delicate tints of the *Pacata* of Apelles; and the lips of Aëtion's Roxana.

Lucian, in deſcribing his portrait, has not made uſe of the ſtyle of a man verſed in the art of painting, but of that of a ſophiſt. A painter ſhould be cautious of following his advice, as it would produce a monſter, and not a beauty.

The ſame may be ſaid of Raphael, the Apelles of the moderns, as of Apelles himſelf *; that he diſputed with nature the truth of things. Raphael confeſſed, that wanting the ſame models which the ancients always had before them, and whom he was deſirous of copying, he was under the neceſſity of taking ſomething in all his pieces from his own ideas, in order to give them that degree of perfection, his conceptions had formed of the beautiful †. But you will, I am ſure, be better ſatisfied with his own words, I ſhall therefore tranſcribe a paſſage from one of his letters to Count Balthazar Caſtiglione.

* *Pinxit heroa nudam, eaque pictura naturam ipſam provocavit.* Plin. cap. 10. lib. 35.
Hic ille eſt Raphael, timuit quo ſoſpite vinci
Rerum magna parens et moriente mori.

† *Teneva diſegnatori per tutta* l'Italia, et fino in Grecia.

Vita di Raff. da G. Vaſari. p. 38.

E fama che in Grecia iſteſſa inviaſſe diſegnatori a racorre gli avanzi di quelle opere, che rendono i Greci immortalli.

Bellori, Introd. alla Pit ant. ſepol. de Nazoni.

" After painting my Galatea, I ſhould " really fancy myſelf one of the moſt " eminent of the profeſſion, if I could " diſcover in it thoſe beauties you have " been pleaſed to admire, or, to ſpeak " more juſtly, thoſe excellencies created " by your friendſhip for me. To paint a " beauty, perfect as my ideas could form " it, I ſhould have occaſion for the ſight of " ſeveral fine women, and your aſſiſtance " to chooſe from among them; but as " good judges and beautiful women are " both exceedingly ſcarce, I was obliged " to ſupply the defects, by an extraor- " dinary effort of my own imagination, " and by a ſublime idea which then took " poſſeſſion of me. I do not know whether " the execution has been equal to my " conceptions, in the pieces I have al- " ready publiſhed, but this I will venture " to aſſert, that I have exerted my utmoſt " powers to render them ſo *."

The

* " Della Galatea micrederei un gran " maeſtro ſe vi foſſero la meta della tante " coſe che V. S. ſcrive. Ma nelle ſue parole " riconoſco

The ancient Greeks were, doubtleſs, richer in the models of beauty than the preſent age; but had they more exquiſite feelings than ourſelves? I will not pretend to determine; let us endeavour to come at the truth of it. I ſhall finiſh this letter with an original epigram on another ſpecies of beauty.

" A woman of the darkeſt complexion
" is often found to be fairer than others,
" by the candor of her manners. The
" purity of camphire ſometimes reſides in
" a body of the colour of muſk.

" This brownneſs of the complexion
" may be compared, and not unaptly, to the

" riconoſco l'amore che mi porta; e le dico
" che per depingere una bella, mi biſognava
" veder più belle, con queſta condizione,
" che V. S. ſi trovaſſe meco a far ſcelta del
" meglio; ma eſſendo careſtia de i buoni
" guidici, e di belle donne, io mi ſervo di
" certa idea che mi viene alla mente. ſe queſta
" ha in ſe alcuna eccellenza d'arte, io non ſò:
" ben mi affatico di averla."

Deſcr. Pitt. di Raff. p. 242.

" the balls of the eye, which ſeem to be " black, *but yet are light itſelf* *."

* Bibliothèque Orientale de d'Herb. p. 481.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIV.

The ſubject continued.

SIR,

I Have abandoned myſelf to my reflections, and ſtrayed without perceiving it, like one rambling in an extenſive meadow covered thick with graſs, where no traces of a path are to be found; he wanders about in a thouſand different directions; gathers, as he goes, the flowers which preſent themſelves; ſtops; returns again to the place from whence he ſet out, to ſeek the right way.

In like manner, I return to the ſofa where I left the fair Greek. When the day begins to advance, and the heat comes on, ſhe falls into a ſlumber; a female ſlave kneeling before her, fans her from time to

to time *. She ſtretches herſelf to her full length, her head reclining on a cuſhion, and ſupported by her hands folded together; at the other end of the ſofa, children, half naked, playing with one another, form the moſt beautiful group; and the ſcene, though often repeated, proves always agreeable. In them I behold thoſe little laughing innocents, whom Hannibal Carrache could never ſee in Corregio's picture, without being of their party, and joining in the laugh †.

Soon after, ſhe takes her looking-glaſs, and the trunk, in which the little adjuſtments of her dreſs are depoſited. To amuſe herſelf, ſhe makes up a head-dreſs of a tremendous height, in the Greek taſte.

* On one of the intaglios in the king of France's collection, Venus is repreſented aſleep on a hare's ſkin. One of the loves plays on a rural flute, another touches the ſtrings of the lyre, and a third is exerciſing a fan to cool the goddeſs. The fan reſembles an ivy leaf.

† *Journal Etranger*, Mars 1760. t. 2.

taſte. The little attentive ſlave furniſhes her as faſt as ſhe calls, with every thing neceſſary for the buſineſs; flowers of all kinds, the lilach, roſes, acacia, with its leaves; ſhe forms them into a crown for her head; riſes, then tries whether the new dreſs is becoming.

Dare I to paint her coming out of the bath? May I compare her to the Anadyomenian Venus, or the moſt perfect ſtatues of Greece *?—Her little ſlave delivers the woman of the bath, a ſhift of the fineſt tranſparent gauze, and a light robe. Her form acquires new dignity, from the addition made to her ſtature, by the ſandals or galoſhes, inlaid with mother of pearl, and embroidery or *relievo*; into which ſhe puts her little naked feet, then perfuming

* Polygnotus of Thaſos was the firſt who gave light thin drapery to his figures of women; and the firſt alſo who dreſſed their heads with mitres, or broad ribbands. This was about 430 years before Chriſt. *Pliny's Diſſert. de M. de la Nauſe, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip.* t. 25. p. 271.

perfuming her whole perſon with the fineſt eſſences—*She walks a goddeſs.* This is not, however, the Venus of the Æneid, but rather the tragic muſe, which the Greeks, moſt aſſuredly copied from ſuch a model. The children running after her, reſemble very much thoſe little winged genii, repreſented by the ancient painters.

The ſun, by this time glimmers but faintly in the horizon. Our fair Greek, impatient of the day's confinement, and deſirous of ſhewing herſelf among her companions, quits her apartment for the garden, or the more refreſhing meadow; her veil, negligently thrown over her neck, obeys the directions of the little breezes, now ſupplying the place of the fan. Her head-dreſs, of the moſt negligent, ſimple kind, conſiſts of a little cap, ſurrounded with flowers; it has two curls, which are raiſed in front, and faſtened; the reſt of her fine long hair flows down her ſhoulders in the moſt graceful, though natural treſſes. With one of her hands ſhe endeavours to cover the breaſt which her robe had left bare, and the gauze tucker

tucker was incapable of concealing; while the other is employed in diſputing with the wind, for the poſſeſſion of her veil.

A cloſe tight-bodied gown, of ſlight ſilk, ſerves to ſhew the fineneſs and delicacy of her ſhape, and is faſtened by a girdle of rich embroidery. She ſets out to join her ſprightly friends, who are calling for her, and invite her to the dance.

At the mention of the dance, ſhe runs with the ſpeed of Atalanta; or, like Diana, to put herſelf at the head of her nymphs *.

Preſently after the dance begins, which ſhe herſelf leads up †; taking off her veil, ſhe gives one end of it to her partner, holding the other herſelf ‡. The reſt of the

* Egit ut ovantes dux Ariadna choros.
Prop. l. 2. el. 2.

† See the hours dancing in a circle, in the *Monumenti Antichi of Winckelman*; p. 61 & 62. fig. 97.

‡ The graces dancing, and their veils waving with the wind. *Vet. Pict. Sepulc. Naſo. a Petro Bellorio.* Tab. 5.

the dancers, their faces crimſoned with the glow of health and innocence, and their eyes ſparkling with the lively joy impreſſed upon their hearts, paſs and repaſs in proper cadences under this waving arch, which may not be, unaptly, compared to the bow of Iris, or the veil held up in the air by the loves, on the famous ſeal of Michael Angelo *. What ſcenes for the painter and the poet! Is it poſſible for one, acquainted with ancient Greece, to behold them, and not bring forward to his imagination, the choirs and dances of the nymphs, in former times? Who, that is ſuſceptible of the beauty and vivacity of ſuch a joyous ſpectacle, can view it without a retroſpect to the primitive authors?

The old people, too far advanced in years to join the dance, take care to be preſent as ſpectators; the agility and grace, diſplayed by their children, give them the ſame ſatisfaction as if themſelves had performed

* *Traité des pierres gravées, par M. Marietta.* T. 2. Plin. 47.

formed in the dance; the excellence of which they place to their own account, and feel redoubled pleaſure from the ſcene.

Such of the young men as were engaged in other paſtimes, as wreſtling, running, or throwing the coit; fly, the moment they perceive the dancers engaged *, to join their ſet. The acceſſion of freſh companies relieves the firſt party, animates them to return with more ſpirit, and protracts the duration of their pleaſures †.

At other times the mixed dance breaks up for a while, and one of the party dances by herſelf to the muſic of the cymbal, or the tabor, which ſhe beats with her own hands. She ſets out ſlowly, proceeds in quicker time, and then turns rapidly, making a number of the moſt ſimple move-

* See the Lacedemonian dances in the relations of Guillotiere.

† Ἀνῆγον χορὸν ἱμερόεντα.

Augebant, reducebant chorum dulcem, optatum CHORUM. Heſiod de ſcuto Herc. v. 280.

movements and figures, yet of great variety. This is the bacchant in the triumph of Silenus, that we find engraved on one of the ſtones in the king's collection, and deſcribed likewiſe in the *Traité des pierres gravées* of M. Mariette *.

The ſame giety, the ſame dances are to be met with in the baths, where they alſo aſſemble in parties, by appointment. There we ſhall find more than one model of that joyous ſcene in Horace, where the naked graces join the nymphs, and dance together in the bath †. The ſame picture is drawn by Homer, in his deſcription of the *Nymphæum* ‡. I might alſo add one, which is at the lake Albano §; but that in this piece what Piraneſe has given us for a *Nymphæum*, is nothing like it, at leaſt if we may judge from

* Tome 2. pl. 36.

† *Gratia, cum nymphis geminiſque ſororibus audet*
Ducere nuda choros.

‡ Odyſſ. b. 3.

§ *Tome 3, et les planches.*

from the drawing which M. Cleriſſeau has made of it.

Were you to ſee the fair Greek coming out of the bath, covered (if I may ſo expreſs it) with the robe of light gauze, which the poets have called *a tiſſue of air*, ſhe would inſtantly excite in your mind an idea of the Naiades, in the paintings at Herculaneum.

Who is that old man ſitting by a young girl, her attention wholly engaged in liſtening to him *? It is a magician; he is teaching her how to compoſe a philtre, or amorous charm, to captivate the affections

* Dido, in ſearch of a cure for her paſſion for Æneas, has recourſe to a female magician. "She may have the power (ſays Dido) by "her enchanments, to excite love, or baniſh "it."

Hæc ſe carminibus promittit ſolvere mentes
Quas velit, aſt aliis duras immittere curas.
Teſtor, chara, Deos. . . . .
. . . magicas invitam accingier artes.

Æn. l. 4.

tions of ſome young man ſhe is in love with. See, ſhe is conning the words he has juſt now taught her, which are to be repeated while ſhe is preparing the charm *.

A tour into the country will make you acquainted with the ſhepherds and fiſhers of Theocritus.—There, the muſical inſtruments, a numerous troop of tumblers and rope-dancers; and the torch of Hymen, blazing about in every part, will inform you, that the god of marriage has many votaries among the rural nymphs and ſwains †.

See that fair young villager, ſeated on the margin of a fountain, and leaning on the pitcher ſhe has juſt filled with water. This

* *Ter dictis deſpue carminibus.* Tibull. We are told by M. Aſtier, the French conſul, that in the laſt revolution at Cyprus, one of theſe Greek magicians was taken up by the Turks, who burnt his book of ſecrets.

† *Admiranda Rom. a P. Sanct. Barthe.* Pl. 57 63 & 64.

This very pitcher is exactly of the ſame form with thoſe uſed by the ancients. That ſwain, who ſtops his flock for an amorous parley with her, is the ſhepherd of old *.

In that road, lined with branching trees, I perceive an open waggon, ſo full of young girls, that they are in a manner ſqueezed together. They ſing alternately, according to the ancient cuſtom of Greece †. Their heads are covered with flowers; the old waggoner himſelf is ſo tranſported with their mirth, that he leaves his lazy-pacing oxen to get on at their own pleaſure. With what inconceivable delight he contemplates the jollity of theſe ſprightly damſels? Inſtead of attending to his cattle, he is employed in picking up the flowers that drop from their heads, and putting them on his own.

I have already mentioned the girls who work together, in parties, at embroidery. Some

* *Vet. Pitt. de Bellori.* Pl. 11.

† *Amant alterna Camenæ.* Virg. Ecl. 3.

Some prepare the wool and ſilk, while others mount the frames; a third ſet are drawing patterns. In this country, the land of arts, we every where find the living pictures of Minerva's pupils, ſuch as they are repreſented upon the ancient monuments *.

In one and the ſame part of the country where every thing, within the compaſs of the rural ſcene, invites the rambler; as dances, jollity and ſports: even there, what a contraſt meets one's eyes. Near yonder village, I ſee the ſtraggling tombs; a prieſt, canonically habited, reciting hymns; ſorrowful females lighting their ſlender tapers, and weeping over the monumental marble which covers the *manes* of their departed friends; as if they could call them forth with lamentations and with groans.

Models, expreſſive of diſtreſs and horror, were not wanting to the ancient Greeks. Murders were as frequent as puniſhments. War,

* See Bellori's collection.

War, ſlaughter, and that contempt of death, the approach of which the Greeks ſo daringly braved, ſerved to dictate the ancient ſanguinary laws. The Greeks were always fond of bloody ſpectacles. They were habituated to view the death of their fellow creatures with unconcern, and to ſeek for the foreknowledge of events from the entrails of beaſts; from the heart of an animal palpitating in the agonies of death. By theſe practiſes, the Greeks were familiarized to the effuſion of human blood, and to ſpectacles of death. A mind of ſenſibility muſt lament, even the moſt ſucceſsful production of an artiſt, who could form his idea from the dying gladiator; paint from a man involved in grief and diſtreſs; or deſcribe a ſituation like that of the unfortunate Laocoon and his children devoured by frightful ſerpents. Such ſcenes, though they might excite admiration in ſome, yet the humanized and tender heart would turn aſide from the bare view of them.

The Greek poets, as well as artiſts, copied always from nature, which was ever

ready to attend them. This I will endeavour to prove, by comparing the paintings of the latter, and the poetic images of the former, with what we now ſee of nature among the modern Greeks. You will perceive by the ſimplicity of the model, what the imagination has added by way of embelliſhment; and you muſt excuſe me, if on this occaſion I touch a ſecond time upon ſome of the ſubjects, which you have met with in the preceding letters.

Is a beauty of Naxos or Leſbos to be married to a youth of Smyrna? They celebrate the Hymen with feſtivals, for ſeveral ſucceeding days. The time for her departure is fixed, the oxen yoked to the chariot, and the new-married fair has already taken her place in it; the huſband, impatient to preſent his new wife to his own friends, bears her away, regardleſs of the tears of an afflicted mother, and the ſolicitations of her ſiſters and companions, who have followed her to the place of embarkation. The bark puts out to ſea; the ſounds of inſtruments, the ſighs of regret, the loud voices of the Hymenæal

næal ſongſters, accompany the pair as far as the boats can carry them. Is it not moſt probable that the picture deſcribed by Lucian, was compoſed from ſome ſuch ſimple and agreeable ſubject?

Europa comes down to the ſea ſhore. She careſſes the bull, who draws nearer to her, and follows her. The animal ſeems ſo gentle, ſhe ventures to get on his back. Inſtantly he plunges with her into the ſea. The damſel frightened at her ſituation, with one hand lays hold of his horn to keep herſelf firm, the other being neceſſary to prevent her veil being blown away by the wind. She looks back towards her diſconſolate companions, who are eagerly holding out their hands, to aſſiſt her, if poſſible, in returning back. The raviſher keeps plunging on through the deep, and bears away his prey; the wind abates, and the ſea ſoon becomes calm; the loves hover round Europa; ſome carrying the nuptial torch, others ſinging the Hymenæal ſong. The Tritons and Nereides riſe, half naked, from the ſea, to eſcort the raviſher on his way with the fair Europa. Neptune and

Amphytrite, repreſenting the parents of the bride, lead the proceſſion. Venus herſelf appears ſcattering flowers about the lovely maid *.

Such is the warmth of imagination in the Greeks, that they can never treat on any ſubject, the moſt ſimple, without ſome embelliſhments of their own; painting has, perhaps, contributed as much to enrich fable, as poetry itſelf. Images, or lively repreſentations, were abſolutely neceſſary in ancient Greece. A moral or picturesque deſcription

* This pleaſing portrait is to be met with in the Pierres gravées du cabinet de Stoch, col. 158. p. 57. Where alſo is the very garment deſcribed by Theocritus.

Niveum doloſo
Credidit tauro latus . . . .
. . . . . .
Nuper in pratis ſtudioſa florum,
Debitæ nymphis opifex coronæ.
Nocte ſubluſtri, nihil aſtra præter
Vidit, et undas.

Luc. dial de Not. et Zeph.

See the 27th ode of the 3d book of Horace, and the 2d Idyl, of Moſchus.

deſcription was formerly the only method of conveying inſtruction, among the Greeks *. "Figure to yourſelf;" ſays the ſame author, "Fortune on an elevated "throne, ſurrounded with rocks and pre- "cipices; about her, a crowd of men "make numberleſs attempts to mount up "to her throne, but are dazzled by the "ſplendid light emitted from it. Hope, "in a rich habit, preſents herſelf to ſerve "them as a guide; by her ſide are Deceit "and Servitude; behind her, Labour and "Anxiety, who having ſufficiently tor- "mented thoſe, whom they have for a long "time rudely entertained, abandon them "to old age; preſently after, naked, "ſhameleſs, and deſpoiled of every re- "flection, Calumny takes them into her "cuſtody; they are ſnatched from her "by Repentance, who at length delivers "them up to Deſpair. Such, he adds, is "the end of the picture, and of ambitious "men."

* Lucian, on the ſervice of the great, Vol. 1.

How many beautiful pictures of this nature ought we to regret the loſs of, if we may judge from the monuments and deſcriptions, which ſtill remain! We have better reſources with reſpect to poetical works, as thoſe have been handed down to us, leſs impaired. I have already ſaid that the poets, like the artiſts, conſulted nature, and nature alone. Homer is an undeniable proof of it. What truth! what energy! what judgment in the choice of his images! It is in Greece only the Iliad and Odyſſey can be read with all their advantages. It was there M. de Caylus formed his compariſons betwee the ſhields of Achilles, Hercules, and Æneas.

Homer, in the firſt, having deſcribed the vaulted roof of heaven, the earth and ſea, and followed the father of day through his courſe, comes back to the earth; and paints a ruſtic wedding, reapers, dancing, ſhepherds, a public adminiſtration of juſtice, &c.

Mad.

Mad. Dacier conjectures that his intention was to paint the ſeveral incidents of civil life. He has, like a great maſter, drawn the moſt intereſting ſubjects that came before his view. We know that poetry and painting have ever been mutual aſſiſtants, by the images they have furniſhed to each other. Homer may indeed be called the father of painting*, and claim the honour of having formed the greateſt proficients in that art; every thing he deſcribed, he ſaw, felt, and painted from nature.

* There was an excellent painting of the parting of Hector and Andromache, taken from Homer, at Velia, the place where Brutus took leave of Portia, when he was going to take ſhipping, after the murder of Cæſar. That noble ſpirit, which had ſhewn the maſculine firmneſs of an heroic Roman on many occaſions of real danger, forſook her at the ſight of this picture, juſt at the time when ſhe was going to be ſeparated from a beloved huſband. The tenderneſs expreſſed in the countenance of Andromache, in this ſituation, had

Heſiod, his cotemporary, according to M. le Comte de Caylus, having compoſed his *ſhield of Hercules* after that of Achilles, in the ſame country, and with the ſame objects before his view, preſents nothing but nature. It is eaſy to ſee that Homer is

had ſuch an effect on Portia, who was exactly in her circumſtances, going to take an everlaſting farewel of her huſband, that the grief of her heart burſt forth in torrents of tears. Her imagination brought Andromache to her view, crying out, *You are to me father, mother, brother, &c.*

In the collection of Stoch, Achilles is repreſented lamenting Briſeis, who had been raviſhed from him, and expreſſing his affliction to Thetis, who comes out of the ſea to conſole him; which makes Winckleman ſay, that in confronting Homer with the two antiques, a perſon would imagine himſelf a ſpectator of the ſcene, p. 363. Such alſo is the Polixena, whom Pyrrhus is going to ſacrifice, a figure engraved from the fine picture in the tragedy of Hecuba, by Euripides, *ibid.* p. 395 & 396. See the Tydeus of Statius, and an ancient engraving of that hero inſerted in the Monumenti Antichi, p. 191. pl. 206.

is his model. Heſiod has alſo, his heroes, his ſieges, and battles; but then, after the manner of Homer, he contraſts thoſe ſubjects with the moſt pleaſing landſcapes. Reapers, the gathering of the vintage, dances, the chace, and the courſes of the chariot, are all ſucceſſively deſcribed. Again, he repreſents the goddeſs of the tombs, attended by a woman with her hair diſhevelled, and drowned in tears, tearing the ſkin from her face, the blood running down her cheeks, and ſhewing every ſign of the moſt extatic grief. Inceſſant ſobbing prevents her mouth from ſhutting, and her ſhoulders are covered with duſt. This is a true picture of a woman in ſorrow, whether real or hired for the purpoſe, ſuch as you will meet with every day among the modern Greeks; and the original was doubtleſs preſent to the eye of Heſiod, when he drew it.

The copious ſhield of Æneas, deſcribed by Virgil, is, in its kind, no way inferior to that of the Greek poets; but the Latin poet has taken but one circumſtance from nature, namely, that of the wolf ſuckling

Romulus and Remus *. In every other part of it, he makes a diſplay, though with very fine colouring, of his hiſtorical and geographical knowledge; his picture of the Nile is new and ſublime. But it is eaſy to perceive that he had not, like the Greek poets, the natural objects he repreſented, always before him; he had not the view of a ſea, charming as that deſcribed by them; nor the choirs, dances, ruſtic feſtivals, and other ſubjects, ſo proper to contraſt the horrors of combats and ſieges.

The epithalamium of Helen, by Theocritus, is a poem filled with the moſt agreeable images, uniting different pictures

* ——————— *Ubera circum*
Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
Impavidos; illam tereti cervice reflexâ
Mulcere alternos, et corpora lambere linguâ.
Æn. l. 8.

It requires a perfect acquaintance with nature, and the art of deſcribing, like Virgil, to be able to do juſtice to thoſe lines in a tranſlation.

tures of the manners of thoſe times, and which it requires no great trouble to compare with thoſe of the modern Greeks.

A number of Lacedemonian maids, from a choir of ſinging and dancing, before the door of the nuptial chamber *: nothing can be more moving and tender than the ſoft reproaches they make againſt the bridegroom, for having deprived them of the bride's company ſo ſoon after the ceremony, to gratify the impatience of his paſſion; and to the great affliction of her mother, and her companions.

"If you were afraid of being intox-
"icated with the wine," ſay they (which was no great reflection among them, for to be a Greek, and a great drinker at a feaſt, was the ſame thing) "if you feared
"the wine would be too heavy for you,
"you had only to bend your tottering
"knees, and go to ſleep; to retire alone
"for

* Verſe 8. Αιιδον δ'ἄρα πασαι ες ἓν μέλος ἐγ-κροτέοισαι ποσσὶ, περιπλέκτοις.

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* Verſe 8. Αειδον δ'ἄρα πασαι ες ἓν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι ποσσὶ, περιπλέκτοις.

" for one night; the beautiful Helen will
" be your wife to-morrow; every day
" that ſhall ſucceed to this joyful one, ſhe
" will be yours. Happy man, to poſſeſs
" ſuch matchleſs beauty. The lovely Helen
" was among the Spartan maids, like
" Aurora in the Spring; the pale flam-
" beaux of the night diſappeared, when
" ſhe ſhone forth. Who among us can
" embroider and blend the colors with the
" ſame beautiful variety as Helen? Where
" is her equal in ſinging, and the harmoni-
" ous touch of the lyre?"

The whole of this paſſage, painted ſo truly after nature, is common among the modern Greeks.

The ſhepherd, in the 20th *Idyllium* of the ſame poet, ſays, that Eunica, whom he dyed to embrace, repulſed him with contempt, treated him moſt unworthily, and loaded him with injuries, that at laſt *ſhe ſpat three times into her boſom* *. This inſtance

* Τρὶς ἐς ὃν ἔπτυσε κόλπον. v. 11. to 20.

inſtance of ancient ſuperſtition, is ſtill practiſed, as I have already obſerved, to avert any evil omen, or to turn the eye from an object one cannot endure to ſee.

Compare the manner of Theocritus and Virgil on the ſame ſubjects; the latter is indeed but a copier of the former; obſerve the difference in their ſhepherds; why have the Sicilian ſhepherds a more ſimple and clowniſh air, than thoſe of Mantua * ? It is becauſe Theocritus had only nature, and the Greeks in his view, whereas Virgil, in copying his deſcriptions, has embelliſhed them with creations of his own fancy. Thus moſt of our eclogue writers, by following his method, have receded ſtill further from nature. To know nature thoroughly, there is no other way but to read the ancients, and mix with the modern Greeks. To diſcuſs this ſubject at large, would fill a volume, but it is not what I intend to undertake.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

* Proleg. Her. Step. in Theoc.

LETTER

LETTER XXXV.

Modern Architecture.

SIR,

IT has happened to the Greeks as it did to the Romans. While painting and ſculpture declined in a very ſenſible manner among the latter, architecture ſtill ſtood its ground. In like manner you will find at this day excellent builders and architects in modern Greece.

We read in the hiſtory of prince Cantimir, that Sultan Selim I. having ſeized upon all the churches of Conſtantinople, preſented one of them to the Greeks, out of reſpect to an architect of that nation, who had built a large and magnificent

moſque

moſque for him at Adrianople. This architect had the good fortune to be nephew to another ingenious artiſt of the ſame profeſſion, whom Mahomet II. had likewiſe employed to build a moſque at Conſtantinople. Selim was ſo well pleaſed with his architect, and mindful alſo of the ſervices of the uncle, that, beſides complimenting his countrymen with the church already mentioned, he preſented the architect with the whole ſtreet in which it was ſituated *.

The palace of the emperor Diocleſian at Spalatro, in Dalmatia, is an edifice where many fragments of Greek architecture were employed, and ſerves to convey a ſtrong idea of the magnificence of the antient monuments of Greece; notwithſtanding which, to take the building as it now ſtands, there appear very ſenſible marks of the decay of architecture. No one who has ſeen the deſigns of it, taken by M. Cleriſſeau, on the ſpot, wherein the

* *Hiſt. de l'Empire Ottoman.* Tom. 2. p. 56.

the taſte and preciſion which always diſtinguiſh the works of that elegant artiſt, are ſo eminently diſplayed; I ſay, no one who has ſeen his drawings, but muſt be of the ſame opinion. Still the ſite and the beauty of the aſpect of this vaſt edifice, built near the ſea-ſide, are worthy of admiration.

In the reign of Juſtinian, we find the names of two Greek architects, whoſe fame has given them a diſtinguiſhed rank in the hiſtory of the arts: theſe were Antemius and Iſidorus, who built the magnificent temple of St. Sophia. Judges of architecture will ever admire the grand and bold deſign of a circular building, reſting upon arches united or bound together by penſil maſſes; a mode of conſtruction which has been adopted in all the domes built ſince that time, and which the Italian maſters alone deſerve the reputation of having brought to the greateſt perfection.

Nothwithſtanding which, according to the Abbé Laugier, who has wrote admirably

rably on this ſubject, Greek architecture was not to be known by any other inſtance during the reign of Juſtinian, except that of the temple of St. Sophia. What might we have expected from the nobleneſs of ſuch a deſign, had it been executed in the glorious days of Greece, when architecture, and the other arts, flouriſhed with ſuch unrivalled, and, as yet unimitated, excellence. This monument, which travellers ſo much admire, informs us at leaſt to what a pitch of ſuperiority the genius of the Greeks was capable of conducting them. When the arts were in their greateſt decline, and in the midſt of that barbariſm which reigned in the ſixth century, the genius of the Greeks awoke, though but for a ſhort time, and produced a model, which all our great maſters in that art have gloried to copy.

Among a number of aquedects, ſituated near the village of Belgrade, and built on double and triple rows of arches, there is one which is ſaid to have been built in the time of the Greek emperors; the

the conſtruction of which, and the fine diſpoſition of its parts, command the admiration of all ſtrangers who view it. Soliman II. ordered it to be repaired by Greek architects, and it is the opinion of the greateſt judges, that this ſtructure, as bold in the deſign, as ſolid in the execution, is ſuperior to any thing of the kind, either in Italy or elſewhere.

The aqueduct at Niſmes, which they contend is the fineſt that time has preſerved to our days, has neither the height nor regularity of that I have juſt mentioned.

I ſhall reſt ſatisfied with having introduced this ſubject to your notice, and leave it to artiſts to diſcuſs with more copiouſneſs and preciſion. Antiquity, ſays Quintilian, has provided us ſuch a number of maſters and examples, that no age in the order of nature, can be ſaid to have enjoyed the ſame advantages with ourſelves. All the artiſts, who went before

us, have labored as it were, merely for our inſtruction *.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

* *Tot nos præceptoribus tot exemplis inſtruxit antiquitas, ut poſſit videri nulla, ſorte naſcendi, ætas felicior quàm noſtra cui docendæ priores elaboraverunt.* Inſtit. Orat. lib. 12. c. 11.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVI.

Muſic of the Greeks and Orientals.

SIR,

I DO not mean to tire you with diffuſe repetitions of what the ancients have ſaid on the fondneſs of the Greeks for muſic, and of the marvellous effects attributed to it by them, in exciting and calming the paſſions, inſpiring courage, healing the ſick, and even curing the plague itſelf, as Plutarch relates. I agree with M. Burette, that the accounts of this ſubject have greatly exaggerated many particulars; yet, from the ſtrong inclination ſtill prevailing among the Greeks for every kind of muſic, I am inclined to think, that moſt of theſe accounts are true.

I ſhall

I ſhall not make any diſtinction between the Greek and Turkiſh muſic, becauſe, at preſent, the taſte and execution is the ſame, and the ſame inſtruments are common to the people of both nations in Greece. But, as love is the natural paſſion of all times and of all ages, I ſhall look into ſuch of the tender and plaintive ſongs, or thoſe of deſpair or gaiety, as are to be found; in order to ſee what remains of the ancient taſte of the Greeks in theſe ſpecies of muſic.

I ſhould take notice, in the firſt place, that the orientals have an ear naturally formed for muſic. They are all attention when muſic calls. There is ſcarce a Greek or Turk, of what rank ſoever, that can hear the melodious ſound of a fine voice, or even the wild notes of the nightingal, without ſtopping to attend to them. Notwithſtanding which, they never carry that paſſion, like us, to ſuch an exceſs, as to abandon themſelves entirely to it.

I am not at all ſurprized that lady M. W. Montague, with ſuch a general and refined

refined taſte, as ſhe poſſeſſed, was affected in ſo lively a manner by the muſical airs of the Turks; nor is it at all aſtoniſhing that ſhe ſhould prefer them to thoſe of every other nation. Tender affecting airs make the ſofteſt and moſt profound impreſſions on the ſoul.

Neither is it any wonder that a very learned traveller * ſhould ſpeak with great eulogiums on the muſic of the Moors and Turks, in comparing their inſtruments with the ancients; particularly the dulcimer and cymbal, which are ſtill in uſe †.

I can at leaſt aſſert, that, in the Greek and Turkiſh muſic, the diviſion of the tones being conſiderably lengthened, gives it expreſſions, in which ours is deficient, and which in the *affetuoſo* ſtrain has a very fine effect. Accordingly, their ſentimental

* Shaw's Travels.

† Tympana tenſa palmis, et cymbala circùm, concava.

Lucret. l. 2. v. 618.

mental airs, and ſongs of grief, penetrate the ſoul, and cauſe emotions of the ſofteſt and moſt agreeable kind.

The prince Cantimir, who was well grounded in this art, has left us a treatiſe on it, alſo ſome airs of his own compoſition, and has not heſitated to rank the Greek and oriental muſic, in a degree ſuperior to the French. What he has wrote on this ſubject, in his hiſtory of the Turks, merits to be read *. To prove it, I ſhall tranſcribe an adventure he relates of a modern Greek muſician, who excelled greatly in his profeſſion.

Emir-Gium, Kan of Perſia, was taken priſoner, and brought to Conſtantinople. By means of a fine taſte for muſic, he ingratiated himſelf into the favor of the Sultan Amurath IV. and became the companion of his pleaſures. The ſultan bought a magnificent houſe for him on the Boſphorus, and uſed often to go thither, in a retired

* Tome ii. p. 237.

retired manner, to enjoy his bottle, and converſe without reſtraint. One day, when Amurath was there, and pretty far gone with wine, a Greek, of ſome diſtinction in his own country, paſſed in a boat before the palace of the favorite. Ignorant of the Sultan's being there, he was indulging himſelf in ſinging a Perſian air, which he performed with extraordinary grace and ſweetneſs. Emir-Gium, charmed with his muſic, ran and opened the window, when the Greek immediately left off; but the Kan made ſuch preſſing requeſts to him to proceed, that he could not, with decency, refuſe. He ordered the boatmen to lay upon their oars, and began again. When he had finiſhed his ſong, the favourite deſired to know who he was. He anſwered, that he was a Greek, and the ſubject of Amurath. Emir-Gium, after kiſſing his hands three times, diſmiſſed him with a conſiderable preſent. At his return to the Sultan, "My lord, ſays he, "the Greeks, who are now your ſubjects, "were formerly the maſters of this "country; the man I have juſt now quitted "ſhews that they were worthy of the

"honor.

"honor. Hiſtory has done juſtice to "their virtues; but I have never before "met with one of that nation, who ſup- "ported the character they formerly ac- "quired. If they all reſembled this per- "ſon, whom I have ſo accidentally been "made acquainted with, they merited the "command of your empire. I once ima- "gined myſelf capable of diſputing the "palm in the ſcience of muſic with the "moſt expert performer here; but now "I ſhould think myſelf happy to be the "pupil of this Greek *."

It may not be improper to introduce here, another paſſage from the ſame author; relating alſo to the ſame Sultan Amurath. That cruel prince, having laid ſiege to Bagdad, and taken it, gave orders for putting thirty thouſand Perſians to death, notwithſtanding they had ſubmitted, and laid down their arms *. Among the number of theſe unfortunate victims, was a muſician. He beſeeched the officer who

* Hiſtoire Ottomane, t. iii. p. 99.
* Idem, p. 102.

had the command to ſee the Sultan's orders executed, to ſpare him but for a moment, while he might be permitted to ſpeak to the emperor. The officer indulged him in his intreaty; and being brought before the Sultan, he was ordered to tell the reaſon of his requeſt.

"Moſt ſublime emperor, ſays he, do "not ſuffer an art ſo tranſcendingly "excellent, as that of muſic, to periſh "this day with the unfortunate Schahculi. "I feel no regret at parting with life, "from any deſire merely to live; but for "the love I bear to muſic; the depths "and extent of which I have not yet "been able to reach. Permit me to go "on with my labours to perfect that di-"vine art; and ſhould I be ſo fortunate "to arrive at the height to which I aſpire, "I ſhall think myſelf happier, than if "poſſeſſed of your whole empire in ſove-"reignty."

He was permitted to exhibit a ſpecimen of his talents. Like the muſician in

in Homer, he took up a ſcheſchdar *, and accompanied it with his voice. He ſung *the taking of Bagdad, and the triumph of Amurath.* The pathetic tones, and exulting ſounds, he drew from the inſtrument, joined to the alternate plaintiveneſs and boldneſs of his ſtrains, rendered the prince unable to reſtrain the ſofter emotions of his ſoul. He even ſuffered him to proceed, until, overpowered with harmony, he melted into tears of pity, and relented of his cruel intention. In conſideration of the muſician's abilities, he not only directed his people to ſpare thoſe who yet remained alive, but alſo to give them inſtant liberty. Amurath retained the ingenious performer as one of his court, and ordered him very conſiderable appointments.

Here we have a ſtrong proof in favor of the ſurpriſing effects of the ancient muſic. The paſſions of the mind were obedient to its will; it calmed or excited

* A kind of pſaltery, which reſembles the harp, and has ſix ſtrings on each ſide.

them at its pleaſure. It had no ſmall influence in ſoftening and ſubduing of the manners of the people. We may, without quitting Bagdad, find another inſtance which characteriſes the delicate taſte of the ancient Greeks in this ſcience, accompanied by an incident, that ſhews alſo the ſimplicity and refinement of their manners. Theſe pictures bring us back to nature, from which we ſo often eſtrange ourſelves; particularly when we attempt to ſubſtitute wit for ſentiment; and prefer the gaudy daubing of a labored portrait, to the delicate beauty of natural images.

Ibraham Ben-Mahadi, having ſucceeded to the throne of Bagdad, was ſoon after depoſed by Mamon, his nephew, at the head of a numerous army. He had the good fortune to eſcape for the preſent; but the officers of the new Kalif were ſo diligent in their ſearch after him, that he was ſoon after taken in the habit of a woman. Mamon, notwithſtanding, received him well; treated him with great humanity, and even made him his confident. Being one day engaged in a familiar

liar and ſocial converſation together, the Kaliff deſired Ibrahim to relate the moſt remarkable of the incidents that had happened to him during his retreat from Bagdad. To gratify the Kalif, he began as follows.

Having one day quitted a houſe *, where I had been concealed ſome time, in order to ſeek refuge in another; I choſe the moſt lonely hour of the day for that purpoſe, and accordingly about noon, as I ſallied forth, I perceived a ſhop, the windows of which were ſhut, but, at the door ſtood a man, of a ſwarthy complexion, very much reſembling my own. I aſked him whether he would permit me to reſt myſelf at his houſe; to which he replied, I could not do him a greater honor, nor a greater pleaſure. At the ſame time he conducted me into an inner room, but, retiring immediately after, ſhut the doors and went out.

* Biblioth. Orient. de d'Herb. p. 481.

I now gave myſelf up for loſt, as I had all the reaſon in the world to imagine, that the man had quitted me with a deſire to inform my purſuers where to find me. To my great joy and ſurpriſe, however, he ſoon returned, loaded with proviſions, and followed by another man, carrying a bed and a carpet.

"I am, ſaid he, a barber by profeſſion; "and not doubting but it would be diſ- "agreeable to you to make uſe of the "things which had ſerved other people, "I have been out to purchaſe new furni- "ture, and to prepare ſomething for your "refreſhment."

I was charmed with the courteſy of this behaviour, and did not heſitate a moment to cloſe with his offer, and ſit down to table with him. He aſked me if I choſe to drink wine, to which I aſſured him I had no objection; ſome of the very beſt wine was hereupon brought, and we finiſhed our repaſt in a very joyous manner.

He

He then deſired me to permit him to make one requeſt to me; to which I readily accorded. Then I entreat you, ſir, ſays he, to indulge me with a ſong; I am conſcious that I do not merit this favour, but I ſhall receive it as a ſingular mark of your condeſcenſion and goodneſs. Preſenting me at the ſame time with a lute, he recited the following verſes from a Perſian poet.

No inſtrument can afford any pleaſure, unleſs accompanied with a voice like yours.

The aptneſs of the quotation I confeſs diſconcerted me; and the moment I recollected myſelf, I deſired to know by what means he was informed that I underſtood muſic. He anſwered, Sir, you are too well known to be able to conceal yourſelf from thoſe, who have the opportunity of being near you, I am not ignorant who you are. You are Ibrahim, uncle to the reigning Kalif; to him, who has promiſed the reward of a thouſand drachmas of ſilver, to any one who diſcovers the place of your retreat.

This declaration had ſuch a powerful effect on me, that I thought the beſt thing I could do, was to take the lute, and begin according to the deſire of my hoſt. I granted, as readily, a ſecond requeſt he made, of playing while he himſelf ſung ſeveral airs in concert with my inſtrument. The man performed ſuch a number of charming ſongs, and with ſo much taſte, that I could not forbear aſking where he had acquired his knowledge of muſic. He told me, he lived ſome time with one Iſhak Moſul, who was an excellent muſician.

Night coming on, I quitted my hoſt, but not without endeavouring to ſhew ſome token of my gratitude. I preſented him with a purſe of gold; but he refuſed it, with evident marks of chagrin, ſaying, *Your offer appears very ſtrange to me; what, after having done every thing in my power to give you a friendly and agreeable reception, would you deprive me of the merit and honour, which the laws of hoſpitality entitle me to? God forbid I ſhould touch your money on ſuch an occaſion. Then, taking a final*

final adieu, he repeated the following verſes in the Perſian language:

"The thoughts of a man, who has devoted "himſelf to the Almighty, are very different "from thoſe of a man, attached only to his "creatures."

It muſt be acknowledged, that thoſe paſſages do honour to the ſcience of muſic; they are no leſs affecting by the ſimplicity of manners they deſcribe. Theſe are the genuine effects of art; ſuch likewiſe are the innocent pleaſures attached to the ſoftneſs of manners, in a nation which has faithfully preſerved its primitive ſentiments, and its cuſtoms.

To leave you without a wiſh of enquiry on this ſubject, I intend to add ſome Greek and Turkiſh ſongs, to thoſe of Ibrahim Bacha, which lady M. W. Montague has favoured us with *.

* He compoſed them in honor of the Sultana his wife, whom he was extremely fond of.

I ſhall not go ſo far in my compariſons of the ancient with the modern Greeks, as a brother author, who is alſo my countryman, has done to aſſert that *the tragedies or ſongs with which the hamlets of Parnaſſus, and the grottos of Helicon now reſound, are equal to the ſame kind of productions among the beſt of the ancient poets* †. But I know that the modern Greeks ſing of the roſe and the vernal bloom, as well as Anacreon; and in moſt of their ſongs, it is eaſy to perceive that the poetic fire of ancient Greece is not altogether extinguiſhed.

of. There are ſeveral collections of oriental ſongs, in great vogue, which are to be found in the library of d'Herbelot, under the word *Agani*. It is much to be wiſhed that ſome of our young interpreters, who employ themſelves upon tranſlations of various kinds, would undertake one of the collections abovementioned.

† Pref. de Laced. anc. et nouv. p. 4.

GREEK SONG.

Μέ δυσκίαις πολεμῶ μί βάσανα ὡς τὸ λεμό
Εἶμαι, καί κεῖτεύω, καὶ νὰ χάθω κοῖτεύω
Στὸ πέλαγος τῶν συμφορῶν με ἐπικίνδυνον καιρὸν,
Μ'ανέμους ὀλάθριους, σφόδρους καί ἐναντίους.
Μὲ κύμαΐα πολλῶν καὶ μῶν, τυφανὶ ἀνασπερασμῶν.
Θάλασσα φυσκομένη, πόλλα ἀζριομένη,
Ὁπῦ ἀφριζι καί φησὰ με σαγανάκια περισσά.
Σύνεφα σκοῖσμένα, καὶ καῖασυζχισμένα,
Καὶ νὰ φανῆ μιὰ σωῖηρία, νά ἰδῦν τά μαῖιά μου
σπειριὰ.
Γλίχα νέρα νὰ εὕρω, κὰσχα καί δεν ἠξεύρω,
Ν' ἀραξω και δεν ἠμπορῶ γιαῖι λιμένα δεν θορῶ.
Μ'ατελπισίαν θρέχω σία ἄρμενα πῦ ἔχω.
Πῦ μὲ αὖὶὰ κὰν νὰ πνυγῶ, ἤ σελαμέτινα εὐγῶ,
Καὶ τῦτα ἄν βασῖάξεν, ἐμπορῦν νὰ μὲ φυλάξεν.

"I struggle with all the misfortunes of
"nature, plunged into an abyss of misery.
"Wandering, floating on this ocean of
"distress,

" diſtreſs, my frail bark, muſt ſoon be over-
" whelmed. Contrary impetuous winds
" raiſe the angry waves, which beſiege me
" and urge them on to my deſtruction *. I
" pant for breath in the midſt of a thick
" fog. The frightful ſea, white with foam,
" roars from the repeated laſhes of the
" ſurges; they keep time with the re-
" doubled ſtrokes, that iſſuing from the
" boſom of the blackeſt clouds, fall upon
" my devoted head.

" Where ſhall I procure a glimmering
" light to conduct me to the happineſs
" I once enjoyed? Where ſhall I find a
" peaceful ſea, a ſecure harbor to caſt my
" anchor in? In the extremity of deſpair,
" I run to my ſails, and embrace them,
" deprecating the heavens either to bring
" us ſpeedily to land, or plunge us at
" once into the deepeſt ſeas."

TURKISH

* *Siculi velut anxia puppis*
Seditione maris, nequicquam obſtante magiſtro,
Errat, et verſo redit in veſtigia velo.
Stat. Theb. l. 9.

TURKISH SONGS,

SONG I.

Theſe verſes are of four feet, each foot having four ſyllables; and the learned men of Turkey always ſcan them as they read.

Félek gher Kiamimuzdie dun meſſe, alamumuz ioktur.
Biz chli Terchiz, anden zéné degnlu kiamumuz ioktur.

Sarilmak mumtenidur ſinéï ſimini Dildaré,
Biz ol endichéden dour iz, kuïali khamumuz ioktur.

Saladur alémé, djami beladen zeok alan ghelſun,
Kimugn kim zeoki var, nouch Eïleſſun, ibramumuz ioktur.

Safamuz var Ezelden badeï achkilé ſermeſtiz.
O Kaïdi tehekmeziz, kim badeï Gulſamumuz ioktur.

Kilidi

Kilidi ſabrilé babi Viſſalugn fethi mumkindur.

Anugn itchun, Roubis, olbabte ik damumuz ioctur.

I. Should the wheel of fortune not run in a track conformable to my wiſhes, what does it ſignify to me? Philoſophy will conſole me, by ſuppreſſing my deſires.

II. If my approach to that body of alabaſter, to that heart of a tyrant, is denied, what then?——Shall I diſquiet my mind on that account, and feed it with vain chimeras?

III. Let thoſe, who delight in the circulating glaſs, enjoy it, without reſtraint, and take their copious draughts with all the joy and felicity they are capable of inſpiring. Theſe are not pleaſures to my taſte.

IV. Wine has no charms for me; love alone ſhall always form my ideas of delight.

V. But

V. But Roubi * has not the gift of perſuaſion; no matter, the key of patience ſhall, ſooner or later, open the gates of triumph.

SONG II.

Theſe verſes are of four feet; the three firſt of four ſyllables, the remainder of three.

Hitch elem thekmé gheugnul iar ſeni etti iſſé,
Bizé dé ſermeghé bir gheuzleri ahou boulounour.

Gheugnlugn alub, ſeni Gheuz gheuté koïub, guitti iſſé,
Bir ianaghi tazé ghul, duhléti indijou boulounour.

Gam ïémérem chehri iſlamboldé ſérim ſagolſim,
Bizé gherdani ſim bengleri hindou boulounour.

Taghidjéler

* The Turkiſh poets generally inſert a ſurname, in the laſt verſe of their ſongs.

Taghidjéler ſoubh olundjé, oikou ghelmez gheuzimi,
Ia-ne var ſendé benim bir gulé bakſago inzumé?

Keuligniz oldi iſſak, ïa né var bizi uldurédjek?
Hak bilur ki kalmadi ſabré madjdim tché kedjek.

Alignizden, Abdy, hunkiaré chikiaïes idedjek
Bou mecel dur, iki delïé bir ouſlou boulounour.

I. If the beauty I admire ſhould forſake me, I will readily acquieſce; I poſſeſs qualifications ſufficient to fix the eyes, at leaſt of ſome dowdy.

II. But if the traitreſs, in quitting me, ſhould carry away my heart; even then, I ſhall find ſome other miſtreſs with the roſe's bloom, and teeth of pearl?

III. Away with chagrin, and long life to Conſtantinople! There I know how to

to find a neck of alabaſter, with the ſpots of Mauritania *.

IV. But, with all my reſolution, I paſs my nights without taſting of repoſe, or even ſhutting my eyes. Ungrateful woman! not to favour me with one ſmile.

V. If I am your ſlave, is that any reaſon you ſhould deſtroy me. Have I not ſufficiently proved to you, that, if you perſevere in your rigor, I muſt die?

VI. Abdy † will be compelled to bear his complaints to the throne. You know the proverb which ſays, that, to make peace between two fools, the interference of a wiſe man is neceſſary.

It

* The Orientals are not acquainted with The European cuſtom of patching, but they conſider the natural marks or ſigns on the face, as ſo many beauties, (which probably gave riſe to the invention of patches,) in Turkey called *Bengu*. I was favoured with this remark by M. Duval, firſt interpreter to the king of France at Conſtantinople, who alſo procured me a literal tranſlation of the ſongs.

† The ſurname of the poet.

It is very difficult to render oriental poetry into any other language, with the ſame energy of expreſſion, that diſtinguiſhes the original; upon which the beauty and merit of it ſo eſſentially depend.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVII.

Patriotiſm of the Greeks.

SIR,

I Am now prepared to anſwer your queſtions concerning the patriotiſm of the Greeks. Notwithſtanding the wretched ſtate to which Athens, Sparta, Mytilene, and Corinth are now reduced, the inhabitants of theſe ancient cities ſtill manifeſt the moſt tender affection for their country, This ſentiment, ſo deeply engraven, by nature, on every heart, has been induſtriouſly cheriſhed by the Greeks; the ruins of ſo many fine monuments of their paſt glory, have not been able to ſtifle it.

Here I do not mean that blind attachment, that tie formed by habitude, fortified

fied by ignorance, and bound by the knot of conveniency. Savage and barbarous nations, neither ſee, know, nor love any other thing beſide what dwells in their own huts, or within the ſmall circle of their acquaintance. Even among the moſt poliſhed nations, the ideas of the common people are limited to that one ſentiment; but the man of feeling, experience and underſtanding, who clearly diſtinguiſhes between his prepoſſeſſions and the duties he owes to his country, is attached to it from motives very differen. from thoſe which influence the illiterate and vulgar.

I do not remember ever to have been ſo much affected with the energy of natural eloquence, as in a diſcourſe I overheard, by accident, between two Greeks, who were diſputing on the pre-eminence of their reſpective countries.

I once was paſſenger on board the ſame ſhip with a Tiniot*, who had been an itinerant merchant, upwards of twenty years.

* Grigory Neſti, of Tinde, an iſland of the Archipelago.

years. At a certain time of the year, he uſed to leave his native iſland, and proceed to Smyrna. There he laid out his money in goods, which he carried with him to Marſeilles. At Marſeilles, he took ſhipding for the Weſt Indies; and returning, with a cargo purchaſed in that country, to Smyrna, a ſecond time, he afterwards repaired to his own iſland; from whence, after a convenient ſtay, he ſet out again; and repeated the ſame courſe of navigation in the proſecution of his traffic.

It was during the war between France and England, in the year 1748, that I happened to fall in company with this Greek; M. Peyſſonel * and myſelf being then paſſengers on board a little Swediſh veſſel, in which we were run aſhore on the iſland of Andros †. The Greek was very

* Now conſul of France at Smyrna.

† Shipwrecks were very frequent upon this iſland in former times.

——————— Fuit olim quidam ſenex, Mercator; navem is fregit apud Andrum Inſulam.

Terent. And. Act. 1. ſc. 3.

very liberal in his commendations of Marſeilles and our colonies; but would not allow that any country was to be compared with his own. The ultimate tendency of his labours, and the ſummit of his ambition, were to acquire a competency, and then paſs the remainder of his days in his own iſland. He is the counterpart of every Greek I have met with; and whom it is impoſſible to ſee without partaking of the joy and admiration with which they ſpeak of their own country. The very mention of it works moſt powerfully; it ſoftens them, animates their minds, and inſpires them with ſupriſing eloquence. I have made ſome remarks on the patriotiſm of the modern Greeks; comparing it, according to my uſual method, with that of their anceſtors, and the *Amor Patriæ* of the Romans. Patriotiſm is a trite, not to ſay, a worn out ſubject, which ſeems to have been confined to the ancients only; he will therefore deſerve well of his countrymen, who ſhall from time to time remind them of it.

The

The truth is, that, in France, our true, firm, attachment is only to our capital cities, where company, arts, talents, and public diverſions, unite us by the moſt powerful attractions; and where we generally forget the ſpot on which we firſt drew our breath, and the companions of our infancy *.

The patriotiſm of the ancient Greeks was founded on the moſt powerful and rational motives.

1. An innate affection; the origina ſource of this paſſion, and become, by ſucceſſive progreſſions, an hereditary virtue among the Greeks; ſometimes carried to a cenſurable exceſs.

2. The principles of education.

3. The

* Ovid, during his baniſhment amongſt the *Getæ*, uſed to cry out,

Et pœna eſt Patriâ ſola carere meâ.

Triſt. l. 4. Eleg. 9.

3. The beauty of the country, and the peculiar temperature of the climate: for local qualities are not the moſt feeble bands to unite us to the common parent.

4. The diſcourſes of their orators; whoſe eloquence ſhone with greater luſtre on this ſubject, than, perhaps, on any other whatever.

5. The preference given by the Greeks to their own laws and cuſtoms, above thoſe of all other nations.

6. The example of thoſe who ſignaliſed themſelves by their zeal, or good actions.

7. And laſtly, Their religion; the ceremonies of which could not be performed, but in their own country. In theſe ceremonies, I mean to include their feſtivals and dances, which you muſt have obſerved the modern Greeks to be as inviolably attached to, as the ancients.

The

The Candians ſtiled their country, their mother *; "who, though more ancient "than the parents who gave us birth, "has a demand upon our affections, "ſtronger than theirs;" ſays Plutarch †‡.

Nature, and the laws, according to Lucian §, reckoned the claim of our natural parents, but ſecondary to that of our univerſal mother. "For what pur-"poſe (ſays he) do we ſtudy the arts "and ſciences, but to be uſeful to our "country? We poſſeſs no property or

* The ſublime Pindar melts in the ſofteſt ſtrains, at the mention of the warlike Thebes, which was his country; and calls it *his mother*.

Aureo ſcuto Thebæ. Iſtm. 1.

† Œuvres de Plutarque. Trad. d'Amiot. p. 185.

‡ Telemachus ſays to Idomeneus, who preſſed him to ſtay with him, "Would you have me "renounce my father, mother; and, even my "country, ſtill dearer to me?" Odyſſ. b. 23.

§ Louanges de la Patrie. Trad. de d'Abl. t. 2.

" talent, that is not hers. Let her be of " ever ſo coarſe a complexion, we dread " baniſhment from her, as the greateſt " of evils; even, after death, we deſire " to be united to her."

When the Trojans diſcovered the body of Palinurus, their countryman, thrown upon a foreign ſhore, their affliction aroſe, principally, from that circumſtance *; independent of the religious duties of interment, they conſidered it as a great happineſs, to die in the arms of one's family, or beloved friends. Oreſtes, being ordained for ſacrifice, takes precautions to ſecure himſelf a ſepulchre; and Iphigenia, who did not then know who he was, promiſes to ſupply the place of a ſiſter, on that occaſion †.

The Greeks were no leſs attached to their laws, than to their country. Buſiris and

* Nudus in ignotâ, Palinure, jacebis arenâ. Virg. Æneid. 6.

† Act. 3. ſc. 1.

and Spertis, two Lacedemonians, courageouſly ſurrendered themſelves to Xerxes; readily encountering that death, which their fellow-citizens ſo amply deſerved, for having unworthily murdered the heralds of that great king. Xerxes was ſo ſtruck with this generous diſplay of patriotiſm, that he granted the pardon they ſued for, in behalf of their nation, upon condition, that they ſhould remain at his court, where he promiſed to entertain them in an honourable manner. The two Lacedemonians refuſed his offer, however advantageous, ſaying, they could meet death in all its terrors, without repining *; but to be cut off from their country †, and dwell under foreign laws, was a puniſhment too great to be endured, much leſs conſented to.

* Sparta and Lacedæmonia, are names common to the ſame place.

† To live in exile, or far from our own country, is to paſs our days in ſorrow, ſays a Greek poet.

Opp. de Piſc. lib. 1. v. 267.

Theſe zealous patriots, never placed their eſteem on any man, who was not animated by the ſame ſentiments with themſelves. Accordingly, the ſame author tells us, that a foreigner, once endeavouring to make his court to Theopompus, a Lacedemonian told him, that he, in his own country, was called Philolacon; that is, the friend to Lacedæmonia: *I ſhould have liked you much better* (replied the Spartan) *if you had taken your ſurname from the love you bore to your own country. This appellation would have done you much greater honour, than that you ſo ridiculouſly boaſt of* *.

It ſhould be obſerved, that the ancient, as well as the modern, Greeks, affected to take the name of their country, not from a motive of ſelf-love, like Theocritus, who was deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf from a poet of the ſame name, greatly his inferior; but to deck themſelves with the title moſt dear to them.

I am

* The ſame, t. 2.

I am the Thyrſis of Ætna *, ſays a ſhepherd of the paſtoral poet. As another Greek would have ſaid, I am the Dennis of Halicarnaſſus, or the Thales of Miletus. They loved to boaſt of their country, and even gave it the honour of all the virtues and qualifications they poſſeſſed. "No "man (ſays Ajax †) can drive me from "my poſt; my birth, and the education "I received at Salamine, formed me for "deeds of valour."

They believed themſelves incapable of ſurviving the ruin of their country. In Homer, an author, who ſhould always be conſulted on the manners and cuſtoms of the Greeks, Priam could ſupport the grief occaſioned by the death of his beloved ſon, Hector, but the deſtruction of Troy was a ſtroke too heavy for him to bear up againſt. "O that it might pleaſe the "gods to permit my deſcent into the

 "ſhades

* Theocr. Id. 1.
† Iliad. b. 7.

" ſhades below, rather than to behold this " city ruined by the Greeks *."

Ariſtotle could not die in peace, until he obtained Alexander's conſent † to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Stagirites, his countrymen ‡, whom that monarch had delivered over to the fury of the ſoldiery.

This ſoft attachment to the place of our birth §, is a ſentiment peculiar to the tendereſt hearts; to thoſe virtuous hearts, formed by nature to receive the impreſſions of paternal love, filial piety, and the faithfulneſs of friendſhip; it ſerves to point

* Iliad. b. 24.

† Val. Mar. b. 5.

‡ A town of Macedonia, near Mount Athos.

§ When Ulyſſes, in the iſland of Calypſo, ſitting by the ſea-ſide, wiſhing for an opportunity to return to his native land, turns his eyes towards the immenſe tract of ſea which ſurrounded him, his heart is oppreſſed, and the tears run down his cheeks.

point out the different duties we owe our country, to warm the boſom of coldneſs and indifference, and to confound the ungrateful.

Let us now turn our view to the conquerors of Greece, to a people who have ſubdued the whole world. The Romans, zealous republicans, covetous of glory, jealous of independence and liberty, ambitious of commanding other nations, and graſping conſtantly at the firſt offices of their own republic. This haughty people, accuſtomed to conſider their citizens as ſuperior to kings, whom they were brought to hold in the utmoſt contempt, by dragging them in triumph at their chariot wheels, and to eſteem Rome, as the miſtreſs of the world; the Romans, in their attachment to their arrogant ſtate, diſcovered more of oſtentation and vanity, than of virtuous ſentiment.

Patriotiſm among them, as among the Lacedæmonians, was a haughty and rigid virtue, a governing paſſion, in a word, the very delirium of fanaticiſm. But this

not the tender attachment, the natural attraction, we find in our own hearts, nor the pre-dilection we feel for the country which gave us birth * This is the rage of patiotism, which ſtifled all the ſofter paſſions, rendered them capable of performing ſuch prodigies of valor, as aſtoniſhed their enemies; and at the ſame time of committing barbarities, at the bare mention of which, humanity revolts. The ancient Romans had devoted themſelves to the republic; and never heſitated a moment to ſacrifice themſelves, when the advancement of her glory was the object. The Lacedæmonians entertained the ſame principles; they lived hard, and died with joy, provided Sparta

continued

* Neſcio quâ natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit, et immemores non ſinit eſſe ſui.
Ovid.

Nature has given the ſame kind of tender feelings to animals.
Opp. de venat, lib 2. v. 313.

continued to give laws to Greece *. Cicero, in his orations, preaches this doctrine to his fellow-citizens †; but, at a period, when they were no longer capable of reliſhing, or underſtanding it. They did not, however, deny that the principles were noble, and that it was a flattering

* M. Duclos, who was a perfect judge of the manners of the French nation, ſays, on the ſubject of patriotiſm, "Such are our monaſtic devotees, that their zeal for the houſe of God devours them: they eſtrange themſelves from their families, and know no other, but the community they belong to. Religious duties, with them, give place to monaſtic enthuſiaſm.

† Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; ſed omnes omnium caritates patria una complectitur; pro quâ quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, ſi ei ſit profuturus. Cic. de Off. lib. 1.

See again, in his offices, the beautiful paſſage concerning Aratus of Sicyonia. Cicero, after relating it, adds, "That noble "Greek patriot deſerved the honor of being "a Roman."

circumſtance to die for one's country ‡. The farce was kept up for ſome time afterwards, by this ſoldier-people, who had formed to themſelves ſo great an idea of Rome; but patriotiſm never appeared again among the Romans. Among the Greeks, a juſt idea of the true happineſs of their country, their common mother, produced a ſentiment the moſt temperate and gentle, and, conſequently, the moſt durable.

I have already mentioned the leſſons of the Greek orators. They are no way inferior to the Roman, on the ſubject of patriotiſm. To corroborate this aſſertion, I deſire no better teſtimony, than the panegyric of Athens by Iſocrates *.

To

‡ Dulce et decorum eſt pro patria mori.
Hor. Od. 2. lib. 3.

* Our origin, ſays he to the Athenians, is ſo pure and beautiful, that the earth itſelf produced our race, which it has ever ſince poſſeſſed; and none but Greeks can, with propriety, give the ſame appellation to their country, which they do to thoſe moſt dear to them.—It is ourſelves alone, that can juſtly call her—our nurſe—father—mother. Vol. 1.

To theſe leſſons they joined the force of example †. Demoſthenes, under ſnetence of baniſhment, ſeeks for no other means of revenging himſelf upon his fellow-citizens, but by new methods of doing them ſervice. When ſurrounded in the temple of Hercules, by the officers ſent to apprehend him, he choſe rather to die by his own hands, than to owe his life to the tyrant of Athens.

Dion Chryſoſtom, who had governed and embelliſhed his country; notwithſtanding all the oppoſition, and inſults he had experienced, notwithſtanding the dangers he had encountered *; this Dion, after a long exile, a fugitive, wandering about from place to place, to conceal himſelf from the hatred of Domitian, who purſued him, begs of his friend Nerva, by this time emperor, as the only favor he

† Pref. Hiſt. de Tour. t. 2.

* Upon a tumult, occaſioned by the dearneſs of corn, he was very near being burnt in his own houſe.

he had to aſk of him, that he would permit his return to Pruſa, his native country †, and give him leave to make new improvements there at his own expence. He was indulged in his requeſt, and, after his return, publicly delivered a diſcourſe ‡, in which, his tenderneſs for his country and fellow-citizens, dictated expreſſions replete with energy and ſentiment ‖:

No man of ſenſibility can, without being greatly affected, behold the eagerneſs and joy with which the Greeks return home, after the ſhorteſt abſence. The firſt thing they do at ſetting foot upon their native country, is to invoke the gods of their country *. Figure to yourſelf the tranſ-

port

† In Bithynia.

‡ Vies des Orateurs Grecs. t. 2. p. 31.

‖ Th. des Grecs, t. 3. p. 232.

* That country was not always ungrateful, as M. Carry, my fellow-member of the academy, has proved, in his diſſertation on Leſbonax. The Mytilenians cauſed a medal to be ſtruck in honor of this philoſopher, and

of

port of thoſe brave ſoldiers under Xenophon (the retreat of the ten thouſand) when they beheld the ſea, which opened to them the view of their beloved Greece! The trophies they raiſed in remembrance of their exploits and return! The mutual felicitations and embraces, which, during the firſt tranſports of joy, agitated every breaſt! How the ſubaltern and the captain, the centinel and the commander, were confounded in that univerſal ſpirit of patriotiſm, which, on this occaſion

of Potamon his ſon, who was repreſented on the reverſe returning from Rome, loaded with the favors conferred on him by the emperor Tiberius; but he preferred inſtructing his fellow-citizens, and ſettling in his own country, to all the advantages ariſing from a reſidence in the capital of the world, under ſuch favorable circumſtances. Tiberius, in the paſſport he gave him, ſays, "Any one "who dares to inſult Potamon, the ſon of "Leſbonax, will do well, firſt to conſider, "whether he is in a condition to reſiſt my "power." Diſſ. de M. Carry. p. 140.

caſion diffuſed itſelf through every rank!*. This retreat, ſo famous in hiſtory, is the moſt glorious monument of the courage and firmneſs of the Greeks, as well as of the love they bore to their country.

This ſentiment ſeems, among them, to have abſorbed all others; thus, when ungrateful Athens baniſhed and proſcribed Lycurgus, Ariſtides, Miltiades, Phocion, Themiſtocles; theſe virtuous citizens retained their affection towards their country, in the ſame manner that a lover continues his paſſion for his miſtreſs, even after a detection of her perfidy*. When the Greeks were ever ſo much divided among themſelves, the appearance of the common enemy was ſufficient to unite them. In their public prayers, imprecations were uttered againſt him who ſhould be inſtrumental in bringing foreign troops into his country†. During the ſofter times of

* Xenoph. de Cyri exped. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 7.

‡ ——— Quamvis perfida, cara tamen.
Tibul.

† Æſchylus, in the Seven Chiefs before Thebes. Act 5.

of peace, their attention was always engaged in ſchemes to ornament and embelliſh their city. The decorations of their temples ſhewed, at the ſame time, the improvement of the artiſts, and the zeal of the citizens. The genius of the arts muſt neceſſarily glory in labouring for the aggrandizement of his favourite country.

The Romans had the ſame ambition, which they gratified at the expence of the Greeks; deſpoiling them of their moſt valuable ornaments to embelliſh their own country, and make the arts flouriſh among themſelves, being very deſirous of bringing even thoſe under ſubjection to the *maſters of the world.*

It is impoſſible to conſider the patriotiſm of the Greeks and Romans, (though it was of a very different character, among thoſe people reſpectively,) without perceiving how much the modern Greeks reſemble the ancients in this particular. It is that natural love of one's country, which Virgil ſo well expreſſes in the perſon

perſon of Melibœus, who ſeems to unite all his ſorrows in that one circumſtance of being forced away from his native land *.

The ſame poet, deſcribing the tender affection of a virtuous citizen, mentions the young Greek of Argos, who had followed the fortunes of Evander, and was at the point of death, in a ſtrange land; he repreſents him in his laſt moments, wholly taken up with the remembrance of his dear Argos †.

Ajax, dying, cries out, in one of Sophocles' tragedies, "O ſun, whoſe "light I never more ſhall ſee! Salamis, "the palace of my anceſtors! Athens! "deareſt friends! rivers and fountains, "witneſſes

* Nos Patriæ fines, et dulcia linquimus arva:
Nos Patriam fugimus. Eclog. 1.

† Dulces moriens reminiſcitur Argos.
Æneid. l. 10.

" witneſſes of my birth! receive the laſt
" farewel of Ajax! *"

Read Euripides, the moſt intereſting, perhaps, of all the Greek dramatic poets, as well from the excellency of his ſituations, and his ſentiments, as from that air of probability, which he has ſo ingeniouſly contrived to interweave in his fable of Iphigenia. Liſten to the choir of Greek women, in the ſecond and fourth acts, who ſo tenderly regret their country. One of them ſays——

" Far from my beloved country, I
" ſigh after the company of the Greeks.
" Where

* Acte 4. Traduction du Pere Brumoy.
The Abbé de Chaulieu expreſſes the ſame ſentiments in his tender farewel to Fontenai.

Fontenai, lieu deliceux,
Où je vis d'abord la lumière,
Bientot au bout de ma carrière,
Iirai rejoindre mes ayeux.
Muſes, qui dans ce lieu champêtre
Avec ſoin me fites nourrir,
Beaux arbres qui m'avez vû naitre,
Bientôt vous me verrez mourir.

" Where ſhall I find wings to fly to
" Diana, goddeſs of Cynthia? When
" ſhall I ſee the palms of Delos, thoſe
" laurels ever green. When behold the
" olive trees, conſecrated by the happy
" birth of Diana and Apollo? Oh lake,
" covered with white ſwans! Oh ſwans,
" the friends of the muſes, when ſhall I
" reviſit the banks which ſurround you?"

Iphigenia, deſirous of binding Pylades by the ſtrongeſt oath, ſays to him.

If ever you betray me, what will you ſubmit to as the puniſhment of your infidelity? Pylades anſwers—" May I never
" more return to my native land." And you, madam*?

Iphigenia.

" May theſe eyes never more behold
" their darling Argos."

The inſtant ſhe recollects Oreſtes, ſhe cries out—" O Argos, O Mycæna! O
" my

* Act. 4. ſc. i.

" my honored country—What do I not
" owe you for ſuch a brother * ?

Thus, then, we find, that true patriotiſm, inſpired by nature, operated with the moſt energetic force in ancient Greece; and that though it does not manifeſt itſelf among the Greeks of the preſent age, with that ſplendor in which it formerly ſhone among their anceſtors; it is not becauſe time, or the revolutions in their country, have enfeebled it.

The Greeks, ever enthuſiaſtically fond of their native ſoil, never leave it, but to travel for inſtruction, or on commercial affairs; and then return home with all poſſible expedition, as the only place capable of yielding them any enjoyment. It ſeems as if the chains, forged for them by the Turks, ſerved but to bind them more firmly to the country of their forefathers. Modern Greece, covered with the long diſmal veil, peculiar to ſlaves, may

* Id. ſc. 3.

may be compared to a captive afflicted mother, ſurrounded by her children, tenderly embracing her, and promiſing never to abandon her *.

* See the veil deſcribed in the viith letter.

Per omnes tibi adjuro Deos,
Nunquam eam me deſerturum
Ter. Andr. Act. 4. ſc. 2.

On the medals of Veſpaſian and Titus, ſtruck after the taking of Jeruſalem by the Romans, is a woman, ſeated at the foot of a palm tree, covered with a large veil or cloak; her head reclining, and ſupported by her hand; the inſcription: *Judæa captive.* Abr. *de l'Hiſt. Eccleſ.* t. 1. Act. 5.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVIII.

An inſcription diſcovered on one of the gates of Conſtantinople.

SIR,

SOME years have elapſed, ſince I promiſed you an account of the inſcription I found on one of the gates of the Turkiſh capital. I communicated this diſcovery, at the time of making it, to ſir Everard Fawkener, then ambaſſador from England to the Porte, and alſo to M. Peſſonel. The laſt of theſe gentlemen, having made the ſame tour as myſelf, going out at the Adrianopolitan gate, and taking the circuit to the caſtle of the ſeven towers, has given a deſcription of

of his ſurvey, very neceſſary for any traveller, deſirous of being acquainted with the city of Conſtantinople. M. Peyſſonel was ſo obliging to favor me with a ſight of this work, and it is from thence I have taken the explanation of the inſcription. The merit of the diſcovery is all I have any right to; for the information relating to it, you are indebted to that gentleman.

"Going from the gate of Adrianople, "ſays he, along the ramparts to the caſtle "of the ſeven towers, after paſſing the "gate called *Top Capiſi*, or *of the cannons*, "on account of three cannon bullets "buried in the arch of * it, we come to "a fourth gate, called, in Greek Νια πορτα; "and by the Turks, *Yegni Capi*, or New "Gate. On this laſt gate is a remark-"able inſcription, not yet taken notice of "by any traveller, though it merits a "very

* It was againſt this gate, Mahomet II. directed his principal battery, in that attack, in which the unfortunate Conſtantine Paleologus loſt both his empire and his life.

" very particular deſcription. It is en-
" graved *in relievo*, on a ſtone, which
" ſerves as a corbel or bracket to the en-
" tablature; however, it certainly did not
" find way there from any deſign of ar-
" chitecture, but by ſome accident. The
" following is an exact copy of it.

THEODOSI JUSSIS-GEMINO-NEC-MENSE } peracto
CONSTANTIUS-OVANS-HÆC-MOENIA-FIRMA } locavit
TAM CITÒ TAM STABILEM PALLAS VIX conderet } arcem

In Engliſh.

" *Triumphing Conſtantine, by command of*
" *Theodoſius, raiſed theſe firm walls in leſs*
" *than two months. Pallas would have found*
" *it difficult to erect a fortreſs of ſuch ſta-*
" *bility in ſo ſhort a time.*"

" We are indebted for this piece of
" antiquity to M. Guys, who in making
" the circuit of the walls with M. Laugier,
" phyſician to the emperor, and the queen
" of Hungary, diſcovered the inſcription,

" which

" which is ſcarcely legible, the ſtone being
" almoſt covered with moſs, by the water
" conſtantly dropping from the cornice.
" The cornice itſelf is loaded with Greek
" inſcriptions, which, on that account, it
" is impoſſible to decypher.

" The Theodoſius mentioned in this
" inſcription, lived under the younger
" Theodoſius, ſon of Arcadius and Eu-
" doſia; and the Conſtantine, on whom
" the marble confers the honor of having
" conſtructed the walls in leſs than two
" months, was prefect of the pretorium,
" or captain of the guards. Theſe cir-
" cumſtances are ſufficiently proved by the
" two following inſcriptions, tranſcribed
" from the anthology *. The firſt was
" engraved on the gate of Xilocirchus;
" the other, on the golden gate; and are
" as follow."

Θεοδόυσίος τοδι τειῖχος ἄναξ και ὕπαρχος Εώας
Κονσαντίνος ἔτευξαν ιν ἤμασιν ἑξήκοντα.

That

* L. 4. c. 18.

That is——*In ſixty days, the emperor Theodoſius, and Conſtantine, prefect of the Eaſt, built this wall.*

Ημῆσινι ἑξακοντα φιλοσκηπτρου βασιλῆ
Κονσταντῖνος ὕπαρχος ἰδείματο τειχι τειχος.

In ſixty days the prefect Conſtantine, built this wall upon another wall, for the emperor, his auguſt maſter.

" The inſcriptions themſelves are no " longer to be found; but it was eaſy to " perceive, that they were written at the " ſame time with the latin one, which ex- " plains them."

" The bold defiance offered to Pallas, " gives reaſon to believe, that the prefect " himſelf was the author of theſe verſes *. " Evagrius and Suidas both tell us, he was " a good poet; but theſe verſes, alone, " are not ſufficient to eſtabliſh his reputa- " tation in that particular."

" M. Ducange is of opinion that this " Conſtantine, was the ſame with Cyrus, " a great man in thoſe days †.

* L. 1. c. 19.
† L. 1. 6. xcc.

" Being preſent once, at ſome of the " public games in the circus, the two " factions, the greens and the blues cried " out, that Conſtantine was the founder " of Conſtantinople; but that Cyrus " had renewed it. Theodoſius was " greatly diſpleaſed at this acclamation, " and ſo jealous of the object of it, that, " after having ſtripped him of all his " employments, he forced him to enter " into the ſervice of the church.

" Conſtantine the great gave, with " his name, a greater extent to By- " zantium; and he ſurrounded it with " a new wall. Some Greek hiſtorians " ſay, that he even dedicated it to our " lady. To this dedication, and to the " veneration which the emperors of the " lower empire entertained for the holy " virgin, we may attribute the letter M, " which we find on their medals, and " which it is preſumed, with ſome reaſon, " was intended for the initial letter of the " name of Mary."

" The walls built by Conſtan- " tine, no longer ſubſiſt; they were taken

" taken down, in the beginning of the
" reign of Theodoſius the younger, the
" year 413 of the Chriſtian æra, when
" they were obliged to enlarge the city.
" Anthemius, the prefect, and regent of
" the empire during the minority of
" Theodoſius, cauſed the city to be en-
" circled with new walls, of the ſame
" extent we now find them; and with
" incredible diſpatch; the whole being
" compleated within two months. Theſe
" walls were thrown down by an earth-
" quake in the 39th year of the reign of
" the ſame emperor, and of Chriſt
" 447. Ammianus Marcellinus tells
" us, that Conſtantine, prefect of the
" pretorium, was appointed to ſee them
" reſtored, and that the work was fi-
" niſhed in three months. This, doubt-
" leſs, was the Conſtantine, to whom
" our inſcription refers; and the ſtyle of
" conſtruction, being *one wall upon another*,
" ſhews, that he did no more than raiſe
" the old walls, without changing the
" ſite which had been given to them
" by Anthemius. Perhaps, Conſtantine,

" jealous of the ſuperior diligence of his " predeceſſors, ſtrained the truth in the " inſcription before us, by ſaying they " were rebuilt in two months. Marcel- " linus does not entirely agree in this laſt " opinion.

" Be that as it may, M. Ducange after " having rejected the authority of Nice- " phoras, who attributes the firſt con- " ſtruction of the walls of Conſtantino- " ple, to Anthemius, jointly with Cy- " rus; and alſo the opinion of Zonarus, " who gives the merit of it to Cyrus " alone; proves, from the beſt chrono- " logical accounts, that the epocha of re- " building the walls, was the pretorſhip " of the latter, and that Cyrus and Con- " ſtantine were the ſame perſon. Cyrus, " beſide, repaired and rebuilt ſeveral " public edifices, which had been da- " maged or deſtroyed by the earthquake. " To juſtify him againſt the opinion " Marcellinus entertains of his exceſſive " vanity, we ſhould ſuppoſe that he " means to ſpeak not only of his walls " but of his other works, likewiſe.

Such

"Such was the gratitude of the people "towards Cyrus, that they were for "changing the name of the city from "Conſtantinople to Cyropole."

You will readily perceive from the ingenious and ample manner; in which M. Peyſſonel has explained my diſcovery, that I can have nothing to add to the extract he was ſo obliging to furniſh me with. I make no doubt but his works will one day or other be publiſhed, including the curious memoirs he has from time to time communicated to *l'Academie des Inſcriptions et Belles Lettres*; of which ſociety he is a member. His ſon, my friend and fellow-traveller, goes on courageouſly in the ſteps of his father, and will very ſoon, I make no doubt, give a good account of the ſtudious reſearches he is making into antiquity. For my own part, I think, I have now fulfilled my engagements, in furniſhing you with ſuch materials, as may enable you to diſcover the ancient, in the modern Greeks. If I had not followed them into their cloſeſt receſſes, I ſhould not have attempted to

compare them together. The inſcription I diſcovered on the new gate had eſcaped the eyes of all former perambulators of the ramparts of Conſtantinople; who, leſs curious than myſelf, could never ſee any thing but ſtones and moſs. But I was determined to ſpare no trouble in my enquiries; the method I perſued to come at diſcoveries, was by mounting on the ſhoulders of a Janiſſary, to examine the gates in the minuteſt manner.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIX.

To M. de Peyſſonel, conſul of France, at Smyrna.

IT has fallen to my ſhare, my dear maſter, to communicate to you, the obſervations made by Dr. Mackenzie and myſelf, at the firſt reading of the agreeable relation of your voyage to Cyzicus.

The torrent which runs through the amphiteatre, you ſay, was formerly ſtopped by ſluices, and formed a ſmall lake for a *Naumachia**. But why ſuppoſe an artificial Naumachia in a city ſurrounded by two ſeas, which run within muſket ſhot of it? Beſide, Cyzicus being ſituated

* A place convenient for exhibiting mock ſea-fights.

on an eminence, the inhabitants from every part of the town enjoyed a commodious view of any ſpectacle, that might be exhibited on the ſea. Thus, at Conſtantinople, ſuch a place would be uſeleſs, as it has the Cryſoceras on one ſide; and the White-ſea, on the other. It is certain that many whimſical and extraordinary fancies appear among the works of the ancients; but, for the honour of antiquity, let us not aſſiſt in increaſing the number. We muſt alſo take the liberty of putting ſome limitations to your prediction, in which you ſay, "In three years, there "will not remain a wreck or veſtige, of "the ancient Cyzicus; and conſequently "none of thoſe fawns you formerly met "with." Is it right to ſpeak with ſuch firm aſſurance of thoſe things which may lie hid, deep in the earth? Since the ſacking of Rome, and particularly in the courſe of the two laſt centuries, what immenſe diſcoveries have been made by curioſity, or intereſt, in digging among the ruins? They ſtill continue to rake up the earth, and every day produces fragments of ancient Rome. We do not mean to compare

pare Cyzicus, with the capital of the empire; but it is not long ſince they firſt began to dig in this ancient city and that by a very inconſiderable number of workmen. It may therefore be reaſonably concluded, that thoſe who come after us, *nati natorum*, may, in their turn, glean ſome of the precious relics of antiquity.

You enjoy the credit of having given the beſt chart of the country you deſcribe; (next to M. Bon,) and we ſincerely wiſh you had been able to proſecute your voyage with fewer inconveniencies to yourſelf.

We think, alſo, that as you did not find the name engraved on the marble, your Ajax is a little doubtful; particularly, as he has no other character of that prince, but the helmet; an ornament common to ſo many other perſonages of antiquity.

We ſend you theſe few ſlight obſervations, to ſhew you that we do not read what comes from you, in a curſory or indifferent manner. The Doctor is always

your well-wiſher and admirer. I can ſafely ſay I am as much ſo, and I would, if poſſible, ſay more of,

My dear maſter,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XL.

THE PLAGUE.

The modern Greeks have the ſame ideas of the Plague, and are as attentive to guard againſt it as the ancients. They offer the ſame prayers to avert it; and uſe the ſame preſervatives to keep it off.

OBSERVATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT.

Quò proprior quiſque eſt, ſervitque fidelius ægro,
In partem lethi citiùs venit. Ovid. Met.

SIR,

IT is true, as you obſerve, that I have not yet made any mention of the plague, which is inceſſantly making ſuch havock among the Greek and Oriental people. I have been an eye witneſs of it

it more than once; indeed I have touched it without being ſenſible of my danger; yet ſtill I know little more than yourſelf. Any one who ſhould undertake to read every thing that has been wrote upon this ſubject, and to ſtudy and digeſt it, would find himſelf in a ſubterraneous obſcurity, where the beſt inſtructed guide might loſe himſelf. The light of experience itſelf would ſoon be extinguiſhed; in attempting to re-illumine it, he would get but a faint tranſitory glimpſe, and fall again into the darkneſs of doubt and uncertainty.

Come back with me nevertheleſs to Conſtantinople. It is not among the common people only that this dire diſeaſe ſhews the malignity of its venom; and ſpreads itſelf, with a greater or leſs degree of contagion, according to the ſeaſon of the year: that vaſt palace you ſee yonder, enveloped with a cloud of perfumes, is likewiſe infected. The piercing cries and groans you hear inform us that the deſtroying monſter has penetrated the walls, and rages without mercy. I feel

a ſecret

a ſecret horror that bids me fly the place; I retire with the greateſt precipitation; but ſcarce have I turned about, when I am obliged to ſeek another paſſage, to ſhun the funeral proceſſions coming from every quarter; to avoid the dead bodies, carried by pale and feeble bearers, who receive and ſpread the ſcent and venom of death amongſt multitudes, compelled by the narrowneſs of the ſtreets to ruſh in crowds together. It is upon the purity of the country air, I depend for ſafety; it is there I put together my ſcattered obſervations, and every other information I could collect on this ſubject.

I ſhall, according to your deſire, and in conformity to the method I have hitherto obſerved, compare what the ancients have wrote on this head, with the remarks made on the preſent ſtate of the plague in Greece. I mean the opinions and practice of the ancients and moderns, the ſymptoms of the diſeaſe, the known preſervatives, local obſervations on the cauſes of the contagion, the progreſs and decline of it, in a word, the conſtant and uniform

uniform manner in which the ancients and moderns have always defined it, an evil without a remedy; a terrible ſcourge, ſerving to remind aſtoniſhed man, that he is a mortal and ſinful being *.

Ce mal qui répand la terreur,
Mal que le ciel, en ſa fureur,
Inventa pour punir les crimes de la terre †.

The plague, ſince we muſt give it that name, ought to be diſtinguiſhed from all other epidemic diſorders which ravage the earth. Notwithſtanding the ſingular opinions of ſome phyſicians ‡, and the variety of ſymptoms which have ſo baffled them in the treatment of the plague, it has

* *Longâ conantem eum mors opprimit et hoc quod ſenectus vocatur, pauci ſunt circuitus annorum.* Senec. Conſ. ad Marciam. c. 11.

† *Les Animaux malades.*
Fables de la Fontaine.

‡ M. Deidier. See *Le Traité de la peſte*, printed in 1744; and *La Relation de la peſte de Marſeilles*, of M. Bertrand, a phyſician.

has a diſtinct character by which it may always be known; except in ſome few caſes, where the ſigns do not manifeſt themſelves till after the death of the infected perſon.

Hiſtory atteſts the antiquity of the plague. The centre of it's fire ſeems to be fixed in the eaſt, from whence it has been exported, and propagated through moſt parts of the globe, by ſuch articles of commerce, as are moſt ſuſceptible of its influence, as wool, cotton, ſilk. The plague is generally preceded by famine, inundations, earthquakes, and bloody wars. The warm imagination of the Greeks has perſonified it into the character of a frightful monſter, inſtigated by ſome wrathful, or exterminating God, dealing deſtruction about the earth.

The Greeks uſed to call all diſeaſes that were attended with violent and extraordinary ſymptoms, the cauſe of which they could not aſcertain, ſacred or divine. When the common method of phyſical practice failed, the Greeks had recourſe to expiations and ſacrifices, which were prepared

prepared by intereſted and hypocritical prieſts, to keep up the pious credulity of the people; theſe mimic farces, Hippocrates, the father of medicine, has expoſed with great wit and ſagacity *. The Greeks when attacked by a peſtilential malady, (which, like a torrent, ſweeps away multitudes of the people, and precipitates them into the gulf of eternity) and deſerted by their phyſicians, who fly the diſeaſe they cannot comprehend, think no more of natural remedies,

* The *expiators*, quacks and magicians, (ſays Hippocrates) who called the epilepſy a ſacred malady ſent by the gods, and what could not be cured but by their aid, mock both gods and men. Let us ſtudy nature (ſays he) for preſervatives, and remedies to our diſeaſes, let us invoke the gods, but let us be upon our guard againſt ignorance, impoſture, and ſuperſtition. They treated the ſick after this ſolemn manner; they forbid them the uſe of fiſh and of certain meats, and to wear black, becauſe that was thought to be a deadly color.

Hipp. de morbo ſacro, vol. ii, p. 314.

medies, but reſort to the gods. They immediately form to themſelves the idea of a murdering ſword in the hands of an angry deity; they haſten to appeaſe his wrath, by prayers, by ſacrifices, and tears; but it was not to the ſinful David the privilege was given to ſee the deſtroying angel which ſmote his people; it was to the repenting David, that indulgence was granted *.

The Greeks, as I have already informed you † repreſent the plague, according to common opinion and ancient tradition, under the figure of a hideous ſpectre, which comes by night, and marks with indelible ſigns ‡, the houſes where he intends

* *Immiſit Dominus peſtilentiam in Iſrael —— Levanſque David oculos, vidit Angelum Domini inter cælum et terram, et evaginatum gladium in manu ejus, et verſum contra Jeruſalem.* 1 Chron. xxi. 16.

† Letter XI. ſuperſtitions, omens, &c.

‡ The plague in 565, was preceded by livid ſpots, which appeared on the doors of the houſes, on the walls, vaſes, &c.

Hiſt. dubas Empire, t. xi. p. 151.

intends to make his future viſits *. Thoſe, who boaſt of their knowledge in decyphering ſuch ſigns, prognoſticate a certainty of death to all the inhabitants; in vain they exhort them to fly; the infatuated people obſtinately wait for the deſtruction that attends them.

The ancients conſidered the plague in no other light. Heſiod † mentions it, but as a character. Night, the daughter of Chaos, ſays he, engendered implacable death, black fate, old age, and obſtinate ſtrife; from theſe are deſcended vexation, peſtilence, murder, and battle ‡.

"O mer-

* Procopious ſays, that in the ſecond year of the plague which broke out at Conſtantinople in 543, ſpirits were ſeen under the ſhape of human figures. The Greeks, in particular, had a notion that theſe phantoms, ſtruck them on ſome part of the body, and that the malady ſeized them on the ſpot.

Hiſt. de la Medic. de Friend, t. i. p. 230.

† *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions*, t. 18. p. 3.

‡ The crime of a ſingle perſon (ſays he) is ſufficient to draw down the wrath of the gods,

"O merciful God," the Greeks cry out "in their prayers, "keep far from us, "this frightful and cruel malady, from "which neither age nor ſex can eſcape! "Succour us, O God! and reſerve this "mark of thy vengeance for our ene- "mies! Take pity, eſpecially upon theſe "innocent little ones, for they are always "the firſt who feel its baleful influence! "O God ſuccour thy people *!"

In the ſame manner at Conſtantinople, where the plague and conflagrations ſo often viſit the Turks; as ſoon as the number of dead bodies carried out at the Adrianopolitan gate, (a gate which leads to the cemetery of the Turks) exceeds a thouſand a day, they order public prayers to be put up. The young people and children

gods upon a whole city; and Jupiter ſends both plague and famine together.

Λμον ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμον. *Heſiod* op. v. 242.

* The Turks, Chriſtians and Jews (ſays doctor Timoni) are equally perſuaded that the plague is a ſcourge ſent from heaven. Of courſe they take no precautions againſt it.

Tranſactions Philoſophiques, t. 11.

children go in proceſſion to a place called the *Ocmeydam*, and implore the mercy of heaven *.

The Greeks, as ſuperſtitious as ignorant, formerly, in times of calamity, had recourſe to their oracles †. You may find the particular gods they invoked on thoſe occaſions, in the eloquent prayer which Sophocles puts in the mouth of him who ſpeaks in behalf of the afflicted Thebans ‡.

" Divine oracle, ſay, what is our fate?
" I tremble in the uncertainty of the deſ-
" tiny prepared for us. Powerful God of
" ſickneſs, I bow to your decrees! What is
" ordained to be the preſent and future lot
" of thy votaries? Immortal ſon of hope,
" deign to inform me! O Minerva, daugh-

 " ter

* Dira lues populis, irâ Junonis iniquæ,
Incidit. —— —— ——
Dum viſum mortale malum, tantæque latebat
Cauſa nocens cladis, pugnatum eſt arte medendi:
Exitium ſuperabat opem.
Metam. l. 7. v. 525.

† Dubois' Travels, p. 65.

‡ Oedipus of Sophocles, ac. 1.

" ter of the omnipotent Jupiter! Diana,
" tutelary goddeſs of Thebes! and thou,
" O! Apollo *, divine ſuccourer of the
" diſeaſed, who adminiſtreſt to their
" maladies, attend to thoſe which now
" overwhelm thy miſerable ſupplicants!
" Behold thy people, thy whole people,
" the devoted victims of death, juſt ready
" to deſcend into the grave. Without
" reſource; without hope; the earth
cloſes

* Apollo, who had a power of diſpenſing the plague at his pleaſure, (as we find in the following paſſage) was the deity generally invoked in attacks of this diſtemper. Pliny relates a practice no leſs ſuperſtitious than ridiculous and indecent—Verbaſcum cum ſuâ radice tuſum, vino aſperſum, folioque involutum; et in cinere calefactum, ut imponatur calidum. Experti affirmavêre plurimum conferre, ſi virgo imponat nuda, jejuna jejuno, et manu ſuperna tangens, dicat, " Negat Apollo peſtem poſſe creſcere, quam nuda virgo reſtringuat," atque ita retrorsâ manu ter dicat, totieſque deſpuant ambo. Plin. l. 26. c. 9. Callim. Hym. in Apoll. v. 45.

"cloſes up her boſom, and refuſes to "yield to our ſolicitations. Pluto him- "ſelf is aſtoniſhed to ſee the dead fall "upon the banks of the Styx, with great- "er rapidity than one flaſh of lightning "ſucceeds another; and crowding toge- "ther like a flight of birds. Heaps of "dead bodies cover the plains. On "every ſide our moſt reſpectable ma- "trons, and youthful brides, embrace "the altars, and pierce our ſouls with "their cries *. The ſound of mournful "accents fill the air. Minerva, come "to our aid! Put to flight this barbarian "god, this other exterminating Mars †, "more formidable than the god of battle "himſelf; this god who accompliſhes "our deſtruction without arms. with- "out

* ——————Quis non altaribus illis
Irrita thura tulit; quoties pro conjuge conjux,
Pro gnato genitor, dum verba precantia dicit,
Non exoratis animam finivit in aris!
Ovid. Met. l. 5. v. 590.

† Ἀρία τι τον μαλερόν, Vinſemius tranſlates it Martem peſtiferum.
Sophoc. Oed. Hen. Steph.

" out ſhield, or any preparations of
" war. Baniſh him far from theſe regi-
" ons; ſink him into the boſom of Amphi-
" trite; or, if it be thy better pleaſure,
" bury him in the unfathomable depths
" of the Euxine. O! heavens! what
" night ſpares becomes the prey of the
" ſucceeding day. Great Jupiter, at whoſe
" command the thunder rolls! cruſh
" to pieces this engine of thy terror.
" Apollo! prepare your bow and arrows
" to ſuccour us. Diana! overwhelm him
" with thoſe fires you darted upon the
" mountains of Lycia; let them deſcend
" like flaming arrows upon his head.
" Mighty Bacchus *! come with thy
" burning torches and chace away this god
" of maſſacre †."

In

* Oedipus does not ſay mighty, but Οινωπα Βακχον, vinoſum Bacchum; an epithet which ought to have been changed, by reaſon of the ſubject upon which he was then addreſſed.

† Le P. Brumoy arraigns the opinion of M Dacier, who ſuppoſes Bacchus was invoked with his flambeaux, becauſe, according to her, wine

In this affecting prayer, we ſee the plague perſonified by the ancient Greeks as it ſtill is by the moderns. They invoke their tutelary gods, and fly to their oracles. They think, as Hippocrates relates of the ſacred diſeaſe, (the epilepſy) that a contagious diſorder, which excites aſtoniſhment and alarm, a diſorder deemed incurable, can only proceed from the gods; who alone have the power to heal it *.

The oracle then, we ſee, was the only phyſician conſulted by the Greeks in contagious

wine and fire, were preſervatives againſt the plague. Mad. Dacier's opinion was founded on the authority of the ancients, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and on the practice of the modern Greeks. Wine, the firſt cordial known to mankind, was recommended for the plague. They even ſprinkled the ſtreets of Athens with wine, to allay that malady. Traite de l'Opinion, t. 6. p. 31. Acron cauſed large fires to be made at Athens, in order to purify the air. Hiſt. de la Medicine de Leclerc, l. 2. ch. 7.

* De morbo ſacro, v. 2. p. 324.

tagious diſeaſes *. It directed the Lacedemonians, and Phalarians, to ſacrifice a young virgin, every year †, in order to divert the peſtilence from their country. The Carthaginians adopted that barbarous cuſtom, with the ſame view.

Religious fears, excited by a ſcourge juſtly attributed to divine wrath, might very juſtly create an awful ſenſe in the minds of men, and produce the moſt ſalutary effects; but they ought to be well diſtinguiſhed from that panic which ſerves only to keep up ignorance and ſuperſtition, and prevents mankind from taking the natural methods to preſerve themſelves from contagion, and the ills which afflict the human race.

In moſt inſtances of a deſtroying peſtilence, it is impoſſible to avoid ſeeing that it is the vengeance of an angry God which is exerted. The holy ſcriptures, in many places, declare it. Homer attributes

* Conformité de la Médicine Ancienne et Nouvelle. Pref. de l'Edit. p. 33.

† Oeuvres de Plutarque, Traduction d'Amyot, in fol. t. 2.

it to the power of the offended gods *. Hiſtorians, in general, give no other reaſon for the moſt remarkable plagues, and other diſeaſes which have ſo much depopulated the earth. This opinion has maintained its ground from remoteſt ages to the preſent time.

'The plague,' ſays a Perſian poet, ſpeaking of Aſterabad †, a city of Georgia, in ancient

* Percutiam te, et populum tuum peſte, peribis de terrâ. Exod. 14. Peſtilence was the firſt plague with which the Almighty afflicted the Egyptians. Homer, who always deſcribes every intereſting object, begins and finiſhes his Iliad, by a deſcription of the plague, ſent at firſt by the gods to puniſh the Greek army, and afterwards to deſtroy Niobe's unfortunate family. L. 1. λοιμὸς καὶ μῆνις, peſtis et ira. l. 24.

Procopius, in the plague of 543, which he deſcribes with great exactneſs, acknowledges the vengeance of God puniſhing mankind. Hiſt. de la Medic. de Friend. t. 1. p. 228.

† D' Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 350.

ancient Hyrcania, ‘ *like an avenging fire,* ‘ laid in ruins this beauteous city ; where ‘ the earth itſelf exhaled a ſcent more ‘ fragrant than that of the fineſt per- ‘ fumes. Not a ſingle inhabitant, old or ‘ young, now remains. It is thus the ‘ fire of heaven, lighting on a foreſt, con- ‘ ſumes, without diſtinction, the green ‘ equally with the dry wood.”

Ancient as well as modern nations, the princes who reigned over them *, and ſuch of the philoſophers who

 have

* The emperor Juſtinian, after the plague of 557, having already experienced earthquakes and famine, declares, that theſe three ſcourges are appointed to puniſh the ſins of the earth. This ſentiment of Juſtinian diſcovers itſelf in a law made by him on that occaſion againſt blaſphemy and unnatural abominations. Hiſt. du Bas Empire, t. 2. p. 72.

During the plague of 1630, the conſuls of Marſeilles made a vow to found a houſe for the reception of penitents ; and in 1720, the laſt plague, they made alſo a ſolemn vow

have written hiſtory, all, conſidered the plague as an evident ſign of the wrath of heaven, a chaſtiſement drawn down upon the earth by the enormity of its crimes *. Tacitus, ſpeaking of Rome deluged with the blood of ſo many victims ſacrificed by the barbarity of Nero, in the year 816 of that capital, adds, that this year, rendered ſo fatal by the numerous cruelties of that tyrant, became ſtill more terrible by the wrath of the gods, who ſcattered plagues and peſtilence, with all their train

vow, which is renewed every year, by a general proceſſion.

* Tot facinoribus fœdum annum etiam Dii tempeſtatibus, et morbis inſignivere. Vaſtata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbuſta, paſſim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi in quâ omne mortalium genus vis peſtilentiæ depopulabatur, nulla cæli intemperie quæ occureret oculis. Tacitus, l. 16.

During the eight years that Phocas reigned, the Eaſt was laid waſte by plague, famine, and every other ſcourge which could afflict the earth. Hiſtoire du Bas Empire, t. 12. p. 96.

train of malignant woes. In deſcribing the ravages of the Campania, and the mortality at Rome, he obſerves, that the hurricane which laid waſte the former, even to the gates of the capital, and the plague that broke out in that great city, both happened without any alteration being perceived in the heavens, or the leaſt viſible difference in the ſucceſſion of the ſeaſons. Indeed, it is dreadful and aſtoniſhing to behold, in the fertile country of Egypt, in the fineſt climates of Greece and Aſia Minor, and even in Italy itſelf, under the moſt pure and ſerene atmoſphere, the inhabitants ſuddenly attacked with ſickneſs; and falling one after another, both in the cities and country, as if they inhaled the peſtilential vapors drawn from muddy and putrid moraſſes *.

One would rather imagine its approach ſhould be preceded by thick fogs, dark and cloudy days, a hot ſcorching wind, which

* Nec refert utrum nos in loca deveniamus
Nobis adverſa, et cæli mutemus amictum.
Lucret. l. 6.

Hippocrates calls peſtilential. Empedocles* was for having the paſſage between certain mountains ſhut up, pretending that it was the avenue through which the ſouth wind brought ſterility and the plague into Sicily †.

It is however clear that this mortal poiſon proceeds from the corruption engendered in impure places, and from that of the ſtagnated fetid waters of muddy lakes, exhaled by the exceſſive power of the ſun. The progreſs of the plague is rapid and aſtoniſhing: in an inſtant it communicates with the neighbouring parts, and ſpreads itſelf with proportionate velocity to the moſt diſtant climates. We are diſconcerted, humbled and confounded by

* De Epid. lib. 3.

† Le Clerc. Hiſt. de la Medic. lib. 1. ch. 5. p. 85.

† Cælo ſupinas ſi tuleris manus
Nec peſtilentem ſentiet Africum
Fœcunda vitiis.

This was Horace's advice, lib. 3. Od. 23.

by it. But, if it is not in our power to ſubdue the malignity of this aerial venom, we may at leaſt ſhut up the apertures through which it has the faculty of inſinuating itſelf; we may perfume and purify every article coming from a ſuſpected place. Thus, a Lazaretto with us, by being always open to receive, and extinguiſh the infection, in the only port of the kingdom where it can poſſibly enter*, is a ſecurity, in the hands of the miniſter charged with the marine department, for the health of the whole kingdom.

The firſt ſtep formerly taken at the approach of this baneful diſeaſe, was to purify the air with ſuch perfumes as were neareſt at hand †. The ſame precaution

* The plague at Marſeilles in 1720, was the twentieth which had happened in that city. Relation de M. Bertrand, p. 8. Hiſtoire de Marſeilles, par Ruffy. t. 1. p. 279.

† Hiſtoire de l'Elephantiaſis, par M. Remond, p. 100. Traité de la peſte, p. 59. Diſſertation du Docteur Timoni. Tranſ. Phil. l. 64.

is ſtill uſed *, and from it, doubtleſs, is derived † the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the Greeks and Orientals, of burning the fineſt ſcented perfumes, when they receive any viſitor, whether in a diſtinguiſhed manner, or as a particular friend; the practice of burning incenſe and aloes in their temples, moſt probably had its riſe from the ſame circumſtances. The Greeks uſe the perfume from the juniper-tree in preference to all others, in contagious diſorders.

Notwithſtanding all their perfumes, the plague makes great havock at Conſtantinople,

* The phyſician Acron, as it has been already obſerved, cauſed fires to be made in every part of the city of Athens, during the continuance of the plague of Peloponeſus.

" Eſt et ipſis ignibus" ſays Pliny, " Medica vis. Peſtilentiæque ſolis obſcuratione contrahitur, ignis ſuffitu multiformiter auxiliari certum eſt. Empedocles et Hippocrates id monſtravere diverſis locis." Plin. l. 36.

† According to Athenæus, lib. 1, they made uſe of the incenſe and perfumes of Syria.

nople, and in the Levant, becauſe the communication with other countries is continually open; however the diſtemper is not always equally contagious. Thoſe who have had the good fortune to eſcape, are more fearful of it than the reſt. The relations and friends always remain with the ſick to the laſt hour. The terrible predicament, of being abandoned at ſuch a critical time, as the criſis of the diſtemper, is only felt by ſtrangers, who have neither friends, nor countrymen about them. The Greeks and Orientals always accompany the dead to the place of interment; they conſider it as a duty of religion, and not to be diſpenſed with upon any occaſion, even that of the plague. They know that this ſcourge has a certain courſe; that its virulence augments by ſtated degrees, abates in the ſame manner, and gradually becomes extinct. But notwithſtanding they are accuſtomed to ſuch frequent returns, and do not take the precautions uſed by other nations, to defend themſelves againſt it; though no interruption enſues in their commerce;

nor any public ceremonies, or audiences are prevented by the moſt malignant viſitation; ſtill the Greeks and Turks ſpeak of this formidable enemy, with no leſs horror than the ancients *.

I know

* "The Turks," ſays M. Monteſquieu after Ricaud, "ſee the Chriſtians of the ſame city eſcape, and themſelves alone fall victims to it." This aſſertion is exaggerated. The precautions ſcreen thoſe who take them; all the reſt are expoſed. "They buy the clothes of infected perſons, and wear them with great unconcern." This can only be underſtood of the lower claſs of people, who are the ſame in all places. "The doctrine of a rigid deſtiny, ruling all things, renders the magiſtrate a quiet ſpectator. He thinks this diſeaſe the work of the Almighty, and that it would be preſumption in him to interfere."

The Turks indeed are very paſſive on ſuch occaſions, but the magiſtrate is not that mere idle looker on, in caſes of great mortality. As no precautions were taken to prevent its entrance, the police is incapable of ſtopping its progreſs in a country of revolutions, where the ſhutting up of the ſhops is an indication

I know of no place in the Levant that can be depended upon as a ſafe retreat from

dication of troubles and rebellion; and where a ſcarcity of proviſions, or any public want, is a ſufficient pretence for ſedition, (always ready to take the alarm) to ſtalk abroad. Government is, on this account, compelled to let them take their own courſe, and the people, accuſtomed to this periodical evil, can never impute the continuation and progreſs of it to their rulers. The famous Ibrahim Pacha, who was deſirous of rendering his ſovereign and his fellow ſubjects happy, had a deſign of eſtabliſhing Lazaſettoes, in Prince's Iſland; and we have already ſeen what was his fate. The author of l' Eſprit des loix, might eaſily have acquired this information if he had ſtudied the Turks at Conſtantinople.

We muſt not therefore conclude, with M. Monteſquieu, lib. 14. ch. 11. that the Turks have no police with reſpect to the plague. What he ſays in the next chapter, on the leproſy, is equally incorrect, as M. Remond has ſhewn in his Hiſtoire de l'Elephantiaſis. The illuſtrious author had not an opportunity of ſeeing all he has related, nor time ſufficient to verify all he has advanced, on the ſtrength of other people's aſſertions.

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from the plague. Pliny makes an exception of two cities, which he particulariſes; but Strabo, who relates the ſame thing of the ſalubrity of the air about Crotona, which is alſo confirmed by Pliny, attributes the exemption of its inhabitants from the plague, to a fabulous origin of that city; to the advantages of its ſituation; and the ſtrength and robuſt temperament of the people, ſeven of whom were, at one time, victorious in the olympic games *.

At Conſtantinople, at Smyrna, and all over the Levant, they reckon the contagions which come from Egypt, to be the moſt malignant. In Egypt, thoſe from Ethiopia are the moſt alarming.

Thucydides and Lucretius †, who have each given us a deſcription of the plague at

* Strabo, lib. 6. p. 479.

† Nam penitùs veniens Egypti â finibus ortus
Aera permenſus multum, campoſque natantes,
Incubuit tandem populo Pandionis: omnes
Inde catervatim morbo, mortique dabantur.
Lucret. lib. 6.

at Athens ſay, it was brought thither from the banks of the Nile; and that, ſince mentioned by Procopius, is alſo ſaid to have come from the ſame place.

After ſuch a long and conſtant experience, it is impoſſible to miſtake the ancient ſeat of this ſcourge, the plague. It comes, as uſual, preceded by earthquakes; inundations, famine, and war. But theſe diſmal harbingers do not take equal effect when they light on a country well peopled and cultivated. In ſuch a country, the ravages of time; the deſtruction made by thoſe ſhocks of nature; and the depredations of Gothic invaders; are more eaſily repaired than in the Eaſt, where every thing has remained in the ſame condition in which it fell, for the ſpace of many ages. The walls of Epheſus, Balbec, and Palmyra, have never been rebuilt ſince they were firſt deſtroyed; travellers find the famous ruins of thoſe cities, preciſely in the ſame ſtate, which hiſtory, and other relations have deſcribed them: They have never varied their appearance

pearance ſince their firſt deſtruction; nothing is now to be ſeen, but extenſive deſarts, and a frightful ſolitude; where the plague is perpetually fermenting, and ſending forth mortal vapors; like the hot and burning ſand raiſed by the wind, and carried along with it.---

Thus, we ſee, the plague, as well as many other diſtempers, is engendered by corruption. It is a ſubtle and mortal poiſon, with which nature is clogged, and which ſhe cannot throw off during the violence of its firſt attack; but its force once abating, ſhe is able by ſlow degrees to check its operations, until, by a gradual diminution of its ſtrength, it is enfeebled, and at laſt vanquiſhed. Groſs food, want of cleanlineſs, exceſſive fear, which may be called one of the firſt prognoſtics of the plague, and the ſudden inaction, that checks perſpiration, are circumſtances which render us moſt ſuſceptible of it. But theſe are only auxiliary or ſecondary cauſes, and not the ſource of the diſtemper; in which opinion the ancients agree. M. Remond

mond * has inveſtigated this ſubject, in a very learned manner, in the treatiſe I have already cited. The ſlighteſt examination of that work will be ſufficient to diſcover the errors of other ſyſtems, particularly thoſe of an Engliſhman; who imputes the plague, and other contagious diſeaſes to an internal corruption, ariſing from an obſtruction of perſpiration, or from inaction in thoſe accuſtomed to hard labor. The definition given of the plague, by this laſt-mentioned author, is *an obſtruction of the ſuperfluous matter* †. In order properly to comprehend which, it will be neceſſary to read the whole work. In the mean time, I ſhall add ſome other accounts, which will ſerve clearly to point out the original ſeat of the plague, and the evils which always precede and follow it.

The

* Hiſtoire de la Lepre, p. 100, &c. I am likewiſe indebted to him for ſome notes.

† Journal Oeconomique, Octobre, Novembre et Decembre, 1763.

The remarkable plague of 1349, ſhewed itſelf firſt in Egypt *. "At Cairo, "(M. de Guignes tells us) it carried off "from ten to fifteen thouſand ſouls every "day, for ſome time. The dead were "carried out upon tables, ladders, and "doors, and thrown into ditches made on "purpoſe to receive them. Almoſt all the "known world was infected with it †. It "began, according to an Arabian author, "in the territories of the Grand Cham "of Tartary. In the annals of China "we find this contagion preceded by the "loſs of thirteen millions of ſouls. *There "had been inundations, which ravaged the "country*

* Hiſtoire des Huns, t. 4. l. 21. p. 223. Hiſtoire de la Médicine de Friend, t. 3. p. 170.

† Qualem et avi noſtri narrant obtigiſſe anno Chriſti 1450. Hæc in Aſiâ exorta, per Illyricum Dalmatiamque ſerpſit, per Germaniam vero in Galliæ et Hiſpaniæ fines compluribus annis, miſerè in omnes ferè populos debacchata, vix ut tertia pars viventium ſuperſtes evaſerit. Fernel de Abdit. rerum cauſis, l. 11. c. 12.

" *country, and carried off many of the in-*
" *habitants; great earthquakes, by which*
" *ſeveral mountains were diſplaced. Lakes*
" *were on a ſudden formed where no*
" *water was before; and the whole*
" *country deſolated by innumerable inſects.*
" *The ſcent of the dead bodies left without*
" *burial ſpread itſelf to every quarter of the*
" *kingdom.* Conſtantinople, and the Le-
" vant, Italy, Sicily, Spain, France, and
" all the North, felt the diſmal effects of
" this plague."

In the year 1373, there was a great famine in Egypt, which was followed by the plague. " The Nile, (ſays the ſame " author *) after having lowered, roſe " again immediately, contrary to its an-" nual cuſtom †."

Were there no regular commerce between Egypt, and the capital of the empire, where the plague, (notwithſtanding the ſeeds of it conſtantly remain there

* Hiſtoire des Huns. l. 21. p. 239.

† Herodotus ſays, that in the time of Mena, all Egypt was a moraſs, t. 2.

there concealed), ſeldom ſhews itſelf till after the arrival of the ſhips from Alexandria; one could not be brought to agree with Lucretius*, that the winds could carry it to ſuch a conſiderable diſtance.

The winds are not the couriers which ſpread this contagious poiſon. The reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, which ſurely deſerved an exemption from thoſe calamities which diſtinguiſhed the annals of Nero, Commodus, and Valerian †, was, notwithſtanding, diſturbed by the plague. It was brought by the army which had conquered the Parthians; and made great havock among the inhabitants ‡.

A great diſtinction ſhould be made, even in the Levant itſelf §, between thoſe countries to which it is brought, and that where

* De Rer. Nat. l. 6.

† Hiſtoire des Empires, t. 3. p. 525. t. 4. p. 504.

‡ The ſame, t. 4. l. 22. p. 387.

§ Inter locorum naturas quantum interſit! videmus alios eſſe ſalubres, alios peſtilentes. Cic. lib. 1. de fato.

where it is generated. In Egypt, the heat of the ſun corrupting the ſlime left by the overflowing of the Nile, and the ſtanding waters formed in the uncultivated parts of the low-lands*, ſucks up a mortal poiſon from the body of putrefaction thus accumulated; and infects, with great rapidity, the air, man, and all other animals.

Such was the firſt idea the Greeks conceived of the plague. All the family of Niobe, who were puniſhed by the gods for the ſins of their mother, died of it, though the manner of their death is couched under an allegory. Ancient ſtory ſays, they died by the arrows of Apollo; that is to ſay, by the rays of the ſun,

Ut hoſtiarum immolatarum inſpiciuntur exta, quorum ex habitu atque colore, cum ſalubritatis, tùm peſtilentiæ ſigna percipi, nonunquam etiam quæ ſit ſterilitas agrorum vel fertilitas futura. Id. 1. de Divin.

* Nunc verò magnas ſolitudines (Nilus) pervagatus, et in paludes diffuſus, gentibus ſparſus circa Philas primum ex vago et errante colligitur. Senec. Natur. Quæſt. l. 4. c. 2.

ſun, which exhaled this peſtilential poiſon from the earth*. Hence the Greeks implore

* Ovid, after the deluge, gives the ſame origin to the ſerpent, Python; which the heat of the ſun exhaled from the muddy bottom of the waters; and Apollo killed with his arrows: This is no bad emblem of the plague, The Greeks, on their being delivered from this monſter, inſtituted the Pythian games.

Ergo ubi diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti,
Solibus aeriis, almoque recanduit æſtu,
Edidit innumeras ſpecies.———
———Te, maxime Python,
Tùm genuit, populiſque novis incognita ſerpens. Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Te viridis Python, Thebanaque mater ovantem (Niobe)
Horruit in pharetris———
Delius inſurgit.———————
arcu crudelis iniquo
Peſtifera arma jacit———————
Labuntur dulces animæ, &c.
Stat. Theb. l. 1.

The word Python, ſignifies rottenneſs, corruption, from the Greek πύθω, putrefacio. Apollo emptied his quiver before he could diſpatch this monſter: that is to ſay, the rays or heat of the ſun, lying from morning till

plore the ſame god as the father of heat, who aſſuages and extinguiſhes the contagions in Egypt and Greece. *

" Hippo-

till evening on the putrid marſhes, dried them up. The plague began and finiſhed with the long days of the ſummer

Qui modò, peſtifero tot jugera ventre prementem,
Stravimus innumeris tumidum Pythona ſagittis.

Ovid, Metam. lib. 1. v. 479.

See Callimachus' hymn to Apollo, v. 99, &c. for the number of golden arrows, expended on Python, by the god.

* M. l'Abbé Banier, is of opinion that the Greeks as well as the Egyptians, recognized the ſun under the name of Apollo; and ſpeaking of the plague of Thebes, which carried off all Niobe's children, he ſays only, that they had mixed a little of nature with the ground of that hiſtorical fable. Tom. 1. p. 78. 173. tom 2. p. 339.

To repreſent the victory of Pythian Apollo, they have imagined a frightful ſerpent or dragon; in courſe of time they celebrated his triumph

" Hippocrates (ſays a French phyſici-
" on *) calls the plague, *ſomething divine* ;
" and not without reaſon, it being im-
" poſſible to explain it from natural
" cauſes." The Greeks, therefore, well acquainted as they were with the impotent enquiries, and vain efforts of their phyſicians, are not to be reproached for ſeeking their ſafety from the gods. We too might make the ſame anſwer to thoſe who ſhould aſk us where to ſeek a remedy. He,

triumph in the Pythian games ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἐπινίκια χορεύει. Poll. l. 4. c 11. p. 397.

M. Pluche ſays, the defeat of Python by Horus or Apollo, armed with arrows, was the triumph of huſbandry, arrived at the knowledge of meaſuring the land, ſowing and reaping the fruit of it; ſubduing, as it were, the oppoſition from the overflowing of the Nile. Hiſt. du Ciel. tom. 1. p. 247. This author had only ſeen the firſt effect of the infectious marſhes, dried by the ſun.

* Traite de la Peſte, p. 49.

He, alone, who can bridle the fury of the waves*, can ſtop the progreſs of the plague.

To return to Hippocrates. That great man, the firſt obſerver of the ſecrets and ways of nature, in ſtudying them laid down rules which have been the guide of all future enquirers; he explains the diſeaſes which were commonly called ſacred †, becauſe an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people applied no other remedies but offerings and ſacrifices, (often of the moſt barbarous kind) to thoſe diſtempers, which they ſuppoſed to proceed from the wrath of the gods. If Hippocrates, had not the boldneſs to attack the oracles, at leaſt he confounded the quackery and avarice of thoſe expiators who abuſed the credulity of mankind. He declared war againſt ſuperſtition

* Athalie.

† See what he ſays of the Scythians, lib. de aer. aquis et locis.

Some doubt whether he is the author of the treatiſe on the ſacred malady. Le Clerc Hiſt. de la Médicine.

ſuperſtition and error only; but of religion, which he venerated, he was a ſtrenuous defender.

Hippocrates may rather be ſaid to have ſpoke of a peſtilential diſeaſe that reigned in the conſtitution he deſcribes, than of the plague itſelf *. In all probability the ravages of this dire diſtemper, were not then ſo frequent in Greece, as they have been ſince. The father of medicine, who has related with ſo much preciſion the obſervations he made on epidemical diſtempers, in the iſland of Thaſus, at Abdera, Lariſſa and Cyzicus †, would certainly have written more circumſtantially on the plague, and not contented himſelf with merely characterizing it, if he had ſeen or known any thing of the remark-

* De Epid. ſ. 3.

† As all theſe cities, except Thaſus, and Abdera, were ſituated at a great diſtance from Cos, the place where Hippocrates lived, and alſo from one another; this collection muſt therefore have been taken from his journal and obſervations in travelling.

remarkable plague of Athens *. His not enlarging on the ſubject of the plague, is a ſtrong preſumption he was not at Athens when it happened; notwithſtanding the ancient authority of Soranus, the author of his life, who aſſerts it; and others † who have followed his opinion. The ſilence of Thucidides is a further proof, as he certainly would not have

* Hippocrates, according to Soranus, was born in the 80th olympiad; of courſe he could not be more than 30 years of age, when the plague happened at Athens; the epocha of which is fixed to the ſecond year of the Peloponneſian war, and in the 87th olympiad. See this diſcuſſion in the Hiſt. de la Medicine de Le Clerc, l. 3. ch. 31. Our hiſtorians have not taken the trouble to enquire into it: M. Stanyan is the only one who ſpeaks of that plague like Thucydides; that is to ſay, without mentioning Hippocrates. Hiſt. de la Gréce, t. 2. p. 185.

† Rollin, Hiſtoire Ancienne, t. 3. p. 53.— t. 13. p. 83. Hiſtoire des Empires et des Républiques, t. 12. p. 20. Traite de la peſte, p. 117.

omitted to mention Hippocrates, if he had been there. However, that great maſter of the art of phyſic, could not be ignorant of a diſeaſe, upon which Democritus had wrote a treatiſe: a treatiſe now no longer to be found *. Every incident ſeems to have concurred to render this diſeaſe more and more formidable; the moſt enlightened of the ancient writers have ſaid very little on the ſubject, and have left us no other receipts for it, than the ſimple preſervatives, which prudence would always ſuggeſt; or eſſays, dictated by the ſpirit of empiriciſm †. Thucydides has not even

* Qui inſcribitur περὶ λοιμῶν ἢ λοιμικῶν κακῶν. Aul. Gel. Noct. At. l. 4. c. 13. p. 133. περὶ λοιμῶν. De peſtibus regula. Diog. Laert. in Democ.

† In ancient times the bare mention of the plague excited the moſt horrid ideas; there have been indeed ſome few who examined it when in a declining ſtate, and accuſtomed themſelves to conſider it as a common diſeaſe. Lady M. W. Mountague ſpeaks of it in

even told us in what manner he was cured of the plague. Neither Pliny who, collected ſuch a quantity of receipts; nor the Greek phyſicians, ſo many of whoſe writings are now extant; preſcribed any remedy againſt the plague *.

Hippocrates, according to Pauſanias. and the traditions of the Delphic oracle which prevailed in his time, conſecrated to Apollo, the ſtatue of a man emaciated by ſickneſs. If Hippocrates had known of any ſpecific remedy againſt the plague, he would rather have deſigned the figure

in a very ſlight manner, and with an air of ſecurity, " This pretended plague, ſays ſhe, " is nothing more than a fever." Let. XXXI. Speaking of one of her domeſtics, who was in a fair way of recovery, ſhe adds, " They " told me, his diſorder was a cold, to avoid " frightening me, by mentioning the real " diſeaſe that he was ſeized with." Ibid. She acknowledges, notwithſtanding, in her laſt letters, that ſhe dreads the plague.

* Nec ratio remedî communis certa dabatur. Lucr.

of a man infected with that murdering diſeaſe *.

If Menecrates, whoſe brain was hurt by the fame he acquired in his phyſical practice, and who, in the extravagance of his conceit, made a convention with his patients afflicted with the ſacred diſeaſe, or other violent diſorders, that, in return for their cure, they ſhould follow ever after in his train as ſervants; had been equally ſucceſsful in adminiſtring to thoſe afflicted with the plague; to what a pitch might he have carried his inſolence and folly? In that caſe, we might have pardoned him the moſt unbounded extravagancies; even his aſſuming the name of Jupiter; which he did with unparalleled arrogance and oſtentation †.

The Greeks, who have ſo faithfully handed down the greateſt part of their uſages, cuſtoms, and preſervatives, from the remoteſt ages; would undoubtedly have

* *Pauſanias.* t. 2. l. 10. p. 312. *of the Abbé Gedoyn's French tranſlation.*

† *Hiſtoire de la Médicine de* Le Clerc, l. 4. c. 3. p. 256, 257.

have tranſmitted, with the greateſt care, ſuch an important record as that of a remedy againſt the plague; as an hereditary and precious depoſit; if any ſuch remedy had ever exiſted.

The plague, as deſcribed by Thucydides and Procopius, and by the doctors Bertrand *, and Timoni in our own time, who had the ſame opportunities to know this diſeaſe as the Greek hiſtorians, being both of them eye witneſſes of the dreadful ravages committed by it, preciſely agrees. Vomiting, hemorrhages, phrenzy, tumors †, ſyncope, carbuncles, (ſtill more

 dangerous),

* Obſervations du Medecin Bertrand, Traité de la Peſte, part 1.

Principio caput incenſum fervore gerebant,
Et duplices oculos ſuffusâ luce rubentes.
Lucr.

Pervenit ad miſeros damno graviore colonos
Peſtis, et in magnæ dominatur mœnibus urbis.
Viſcera torrentur primò, flammæque latentis
Indicium rubor eſt, et ductus anhelitus ægrè.
Ovid. Met. l. 7. v. 552.

† Λοιμώδη ἕλκη. Poll. l. 4.

dangerous), hoarſeneſs, inflammation of the eyes, all anounce and characterize the diſeaſe.

Hippocrates, who was an exact obſerver of variations in the weather *, confuſion in the ſeaſons, and the diagnoſtic ſigns of epidemical diſeaſes; was alſo the firſt who pointed out that our health was affected by the impreſſions of the atmoſphere, as in the different circumſtances of a humid, thick, ſubtle or dry air, which by turns we might chance to reſpire; and how much the country we inhabit influences our health, temperament, and natural character: Hippocrates draws † the ſketch of a peſtilential conſtitution formed by

* When the ſeaſons ſucceed with regularity, ſays Galen, there is no ſuch thing as the plague, or epidemic diſtempers.

Conſiderations ſur les Epid. d'Hip. The French tranſlation by M. Deſmars.

† Καταστώσις λοιμωδης ἔ τος νότιον, ἔτομβρυ, &c. Conſtitutio temporis peſtilens, annus auſſtrinus, pluvius, &c. ch. 3.

The

by frequent rains, and a fixed wind blowing from the ſouth for a long time together *, in the latter part of the ſpring, which he ſays is generally followed by a calm and violent heat. It ſhould be obſerved, that the very ſame wind, happening in the middle of the ſummer, though it renders the air inſupportably hot, has the property of extinguiſhing the fire of the contagion; and never fails to effect it in a ſhort time; in Egypt, and at Smyrna, the plague generally ſubſides about the time of the ſummer ſolſtice †. The ſtory

The laſt tranſlator des Epidemies, has retrenched this paſſage; as its authenticity was doubtful to Galen. M. Deſmars Trad. p. 70.

Letiferis calidi ſpirarunt flatibus auſtri;
Conſtat et in fontes vitium veniſſe lacuſque.
Ovid. Met. l. 7. v. 532.

* Phyſic, ſays Plutarch, teaches us, that a multitude of ſpiders is the fore-runner of a piſtilential ſummer. De Orac.

† Tranſactions Philoſophiques No. 64.

Celſus, in his treatiſe on the art of preſerving health, has an entire chapter on the methods.

they relate of its ceaſing on a certain day is fabulous.

Thucydides, who has omitted no circumſtance relating to the plague at Athens, informs us *, that when it has acquired its greateſt force, all other diſeaſes diſappear. Again, if the ſmall pox ſhould introduce itſelf during the plague, and make any progreſs ſo far as to take the lead (if I may uſe the expreſſion) the immediate retreat of the plague is certain.

Garlic †, ſpirituous liquors, wine, vinegar, and perfumes, are the preſervatives uſed

thods of guarding againſt the plague. He adviſes to abſtain from the hot bath, to drink ſometimes water and ſometimes wine, &c.——and adds

Cùm verò hæc in omni peſtilentiâ facienda ſint, tunc in eâ maximè quam auſtri encitarint.

* Enimvero annus ille, ut confeſſione fere omnium conſtat, maximè immunis fuit aliorum morborum ſi quis alio pruis laborabat, is morbus in hunc omninò convertebatur.

Belt. Pelops. l. 2.

† The Greeks call the plague ὀσχόρδυλα a word which comes from σχόρδα in vulgar Greek;

uſed by the Greeks againſt the plague. I have reaſon to believe that wine * is recommended by tradition; you muſt re-

Greek; in the claſſical σκορόδον: garlick: the name of which ſignifies a bad ſmell, or the ſmell of a dunghill, σκῶρ ὄζει· quod fædè oleat. Lexic.

* In peſtilentiâ, ac peregrinationibus vim magnam auxiliandi vinum habere dicitur. Plin. l. 23.

I lodged, when at Conſtantinople, with M. Crutta, a native of the country, and one who had been infected with the diſeaſe. In its advanced ſtate, he drank more wine than uſual, and adviſed me to do the ſame. My father, who was in Egypt at the time of the plague, and commiſſary at Marſeilles, when it viſited that city, always drank Cyprus wine before he went out. He has frequently mentioned to me a man who had no other occupation but that of burying the people, who died of this diſeaſe. He was conſtantly drunk, and had never caught the infection in any degree. The Greek women at Conſtantinople, who attend the ſick, never require any thing but brandy to keep it off; of which they drink often in the courſe of the day.

member that Bacchus was ſometimes invoked inſtead of Apollo.

The ſoldiers of Cæſar's army * in Theſſaly, made uſe of no other method, to defend themſelves from the attack of the plague, which then ravaged the whole country † but drinking of wine to exceſs, which they found in great quantities. A water-drinker ſhould never think of travelling in Turkey.

Doctor Timoni aſſerts that the ſame perſon is never attacked with the plague twice in one ſeaſon. Mr. Bertrand ‡ was of a different opinion, from woful experience.

Old

* It is well known that the Roman ſoldiers generally carried a quantity of vinegar with them: they uſed to put ſome drops of it into the water of ſuch wells as they were not acquainted with, before they ventured to drink; by this means they often avoided epidemical diſtempers.

† Plutarch's Cæſar.

‡ Tranſact. Philos. No. 64. Relation de la Peſte de Marſeilles, p. 509.

Old men, ſays Timoni, after Pliny *, are leaſt liable to its attacks. Notwithſtanding what the Perſian poet has ſaid, the fire of it conſumes the old as well as the young †. I had the misfortune to loſe my father in law Monſ. Magy at a very advanced age, by an attack of this diſeaſe; his friends had no ſuſpicion the evening before his death, of his being in that diſtemper ‡.

It

* Senes minimè ſentire peſtilentiam. Pl. l. 7. c. 50.

† Timoni thinks, likewiſe, that ſtrangers are leſs ſuſceptible of it than the natives.

The miſſionaries, ſpeaking of the plague at Conſtantinople in 1707, which carried off one third of the inhabitants, ſay alſo, that in the plague at Smyrna, in 1714, the Latins loſt only their biſhop, a man eighty years old. Lettres des Miſſionaires. t. 1. let. 2. p. 43.

‡ M. J. Guys, my kinſman, caught the plague ſome years ago at Cairo, from a ſervant who died in the month of April, but himſelf eſcaped. In this diſeaſe the phyſician

is

It is repreſented that the moſt malignant plague, is that which, like the ſores of Egypt, attacks the brute creation *.

At

is as much baffled by the facts themſelves, as by the variety of attendant ſymptoms. M. le Beau relates that at Conſtantinople in 542, there were three women, who each of them brought forth an infected child that died immediately after its birth, but that the mothers never were infected; and that another pregnant woman, being ſeized with the plague, was delivered, in dying, of a child in perfect health. Hiſt. du Bas Empire. Tome 10. p. 221.

* — — — Cum primis fida canum vis
Strata viis animam ponebat in omnibus ægram
Lucr.

Strage canum primò, volucrumque, oviumque, boumque,
Inque feris ſubiti deprenſa potentia morbi.
Met. l. 7. v. 536.

Apollo, ſays Homer, at firſt ſtruck only the mules and dogs, but preſently after, the Greeks themſelves, became the butt of his mortal arrows.

Iliad b. 1.

But

At Conſtantinople, ſays Timoni, it is common to ſee dogs, horſes and cats, diſtempered with peſtilential tumors; of which they often die; it was in conſequence of this mortality, that the plague deſcribed by Monſ. de Guignes, and by the ancients whom I have already quoted, was engendered.

When the contagion draws near its criſis, thoſe who have already had the diſeaſe, feel great pain about the cicatrices of their tumors; and it is reckoned a caution to them to take care of themſelves *.

The

But let us liſten to the true God who ſpeaks: Let us attend to his denunciation Ecce manus mea ſuper agros tuos, ſuper equos et aſinos, et camelos et boves; peſtis valde gravis. Exod. 19. c.

* The late Comte Deſalleurs, ambaſſador from France at Conſtantinople, had ſeen the plague in the neareſt point of view, being obliged to fly without attendants from his own hotel where it broke out, to my houſe at Belgrade. He uſed to conſult this thermometer of the diſtemper. He had an old

ſervant

The Greeks entertain an opinion, that perſons born and baptiſed on the Lord's-day are not liable to the plague. I have known ſome perſons in that predicament, who, according to their own account, had no faith in the opinion, yet could give no other reaſon for expoſing themſelves to the diſeaſe, and not catching it. You will find in hiſtory, that the Chriſtians of the eaſt, uſed to mark their children with a croſs, to ſecure them againſt the plague. Coſroes, king of Perſia, whom the emperor Maurice re-eſtabliſhed upon his throne, having preſented the emperor, after the battle gained over his ſubjects, with ſome Turks, who were found among the priſoners, they were all obſerved to be marked with a croſs upon the forehead.

Maurice

ſervant called Cæſar, who had been twice ſeized with it while in the ſervice of M. le Marquis de Villeneuve. One day, when the diſtemper had made ſome progreſs, M. Deſalleurs aſked him, How goes the plague now? A bad ſign, Sir, replied he, my ſcars are very painful.

Maurice enquiring the reaſon of it, they informed him, that, in the times of peſtilence, ſome Chriſtians had adviſed the Turkiſh women to mark their children in this manner; which had anſwered the purpoſe of preſerving them free from contagion, during their whole lives *.

Our Jeſuit miſſionaries obſerved that the plague at Scio ſpared the orthodox Greeks; and that it was felt by none but the Turks and ſchiſmatic Greeks †.

Infected perſons are dieted, during the continuance of the diſeaſe, with cordial and panadoes; but broth is forbid as extremely pernicious. The phyſicians conſtantly recommend opium ‡, as a preſervative; and oftentimes as a remedy. The learned M. Tournefort ſays, that he was ſtored with

* Hiſtoire du Bas Empire, t. 3. p. 498.

† Sometimes, ſay they, ſcarcely a perſon dies among the Latins, while the plague carries off great numbers of Greeks and Turks. Lettres des Miſſionaries, t. 1. lett. 2. p. 79.

‡ Tranſact. Philos. No, 64.

with treacle *, orvietan, Engliſh drops, and other cordials, by way of ſecurity againſt infection; yet he is of opinion, that a tartareous emetic ought to be taken the inſtant the head is affected †.

The Armenians, of whom I have ſpoken in my firſt letters, are the leaſt ſuſceptible of the contagion, though they expoſe themſelves greatly. They drink freely of wine at thoſe times, though otherwiſe of a ſober diſpoſition; and live chiefly on ſalt-meats, garlic and onions ‡. Timoni, who confirms this account, adds, that pork is poiſon during the continuance of the plague. It has been proved by the ſtatical experiments

* Several of the domeſtics of M. le Comte de Bonneval, being ſeized with the plague, he directed the ſame remedy to be adminiſtred them, which is uſually given, in France, to horſes attacked with the *farcy*, proportioning the quantity to the patients, and many of them recovered. He ſent the receipt to the French hoſpital for infected perſons, but the medicine did not ſucceed ſo well there.

† Voyage de Tournefort, t. 2. p. 181.

‡ Tranſact. Philoſ. No. 64.

ments of Santorius, that this kind of food obſtructs perſpiration.

Houſes ſlovenly kept, particularly thoſe of the Jews, or where many and numerous families reſide together, are the firſt infected *. Cleanlineſs, next to chearfulneſs, is the beſt preſervative againſt the contagion. Sudden and violent frights, chagrin, and paſſions which ſtrongly affect the mind, are, according to the Greek doctors, (whoſe obſervations I have always found to be juſt) inviting to the plague. I am much obliged to M. Bourlat de Montredon, for his kind attention, on this occaſion; he had been ſo much inured to behold thoſe ſcenes of diſtreſs, as matters of courſe, that we have often, in our evening walks together, amuſed ourſelves, with

* People of condition at Conſtantinople are very ſeldom attacked with the plague; notwithſtanding which, they do not enjoy an entire exemption. The Doge Moroſini died of it in 1382. Hiſt. de Veniſe, t. 5. p. 59. M. le Marquis de Bonnac, the French ambaſſador to the Porte, loſt one of his children by the diſeaſe.

with great unconcern, in counting the number of graves opened in our cemeteries without the city.

Such is the ſtate of medicine in this country, that the regular practitioners in that ſcience have nothing to offer their patients againſt the infection, but preſervatives, and counſel. The Greeks, ſince Æſculapius and Hippocrates, though they have introduced quackery and empiriciſm, have not yet dared to propoſe any thing as a ſpecific againſt the contagion. Phyſicians ſprung up, formerly, in Greece, as faſt as the diſeaſes themſelves. They were conſidered as oracles; though theſe oracles were nothing better than the echoes of each other. At preſent, inſtead of the reſpectable pupils, ſuch as ſtudied under the father of medicine, the valets who follow the Greek doctors, become phyſicians, like their maſters, in a very ſhort time *. It may

 be

* This abuſe is not of a modern date. It was on account of the Greek phyſicians, their numbers and quackery, that Pliny, after

be ſaid that, among this people, phyſic ſpreads

ter repeating the words of Cato, who baniſhed them from Rome, ſays, very appoſitely.

Solam hanc artium Græcarum nondum exercet Romana gravitas; in tanto fructu pauciſſimi Quiritum attigêre, et ipſi ſtatim ad Græcos transfugæ. Imò verò auctoritas aliter quam Græcè eam tractantibus, etiam apud imperitos experteſque linguæ, non eſt. Ac minus credunt quæ ad ſalutem ſuam pertinent, ſi intelligunt. Itaque Hêrculè in hâc artium ſolâ evenit ut cuicumque Medicum ſe profeſſo ſtatim credatur, cum ſit periculum in nullo mendacio majus. Non tamen illud intuemur, adeo blanda eſt ſperandi pro ſe cuique dulcedo. Nulla preterea lex quæ puniat inſcitiam, &c. diſcunt periculis noſtris, &c.

Illa perdidere imperii mores, illa quæ ſani patimur, luctatus, ceromata, ceu valetudinis cauſâ inſtituta, balineæ ardentes quibus perſuaſêre in corporibus cibos coqui, ut nemo non minùs validus exiret, obedientiſſimi vero efferentur. Potus deinde jejunorum ac vomitiones, et rurſus perpotationes, ac pilorum eviratio inſtituta reſinis eorum, (which is ſtill practiſed in the baths) itemque pectines in fæminis quidem publicati.

ſpreads with as much facility as the plague itſelf.

The

publicati. Ita eſt profectò: lues morum, nec aliundè major quàm è medicinâ, vatum prorsùs quo-tidiè facit Catonem et oraculum: Satis eſſe ingenia Græcorum inſpicere, non perdiſcere. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 29. c. 1.

A frugal life, cleanlineſs, and good humour, are the moſt aſſured preſervatives; and are, undoubtedly, the beſt medicine. Pliny complains, with reaſon, of his own countrymen, for neglecting this medicine, and abandoning themſelves to the empiriciſm of the Greeks; he alſo complains of the Romans having eſtabliſhed the mode of treating all phyſical caſes caſes *a la Grecque*. It appears that in his time, as now, a foreign phyſician might ſoon make his fortune by a new noſtrum, which the multitude would greedily ſwallow; that they could bring different water into reputation, as medicines; that the immoderate uſe of the hot-bath was introduced by this means, as it is ſince practiſed in Greece and the Levant; that the cuſtom of preſcribing depilatories had been brought into Rome, by thoſe Greek phyſicians, whom Cato and Pliny were ſo deſirous of baniſhing.

The Greeks know no more of the nature of the peſtilential venom than ourſelves; they can give no better account, why a remedy, that ſucceeds with one perſon, ſhould have no effect on another *? They cannot tell us, why ſome men ſhould be often attacked with this diſeaſe, while others who have had it but once, and expoſe themſelves every where, ſhould not be ſuſceptible of it a ſecond time? How a man ſhould be able to carry the infection along with the cloaths he wears; communicate it to a whole family; and ſtill remain himſelf uninfected? Whence it comes that, in ſome years, children and feeble perſons are the firſt to be ſtruck with it; and, in others, the adult and robuſt? and laſtly, why, in large cities, ſuch as Conſtantinople and Cairo, the plague ſhould ceaſe of its own accord; and the communication with other nations be re-eſtabliſhed,

* Nam quod aliis dederat vitales aeris auras volvere. — — — — — —
Hoc aliis erit exitio. Luc. l. 7.

In Egypt, every diſorder had its phyſician, ſays Herodotus, except the plague. Lib. 2.

bliſhed, without fear, danger, or accident, yet without the leaſt interpoſition of the police, throughout the whole term of its continuance?

We muſt therefore conclude, according to the unanimous opinion of both ancients and moderns, which I have, I preſume, ſufficiently ſhewn; that the plague is a ſcourge, permitted by the Almighty to viſit the ſons of men, which he withdraws at his pleaſure. But ſtill let us, with Hippocrates, condemn the uſe they made of religious ceremonies; that falſe confidence, which leads men raſhly to expoſe themſelves; and, above all, explode that barbarous ignorance, which would reject the uſe of remedies, and the means, at leaſt of comforting human nature in diſtreſs *.

Mr.

* Here, ſays M. Bertrand, it will be rig to revive the maxims of the ancients, whoſe only method was to obſerve and follow nature, Such ought to be our attention in a diſorder, which, properly ſpeaking, is no more than an effort of nature, or, in other words, an exertion of the blood, to expel a foreign noxious body. Obſerv. ſur la peſte. p. 512.

Mr. Mackenzie, an Engliſh gentleman, who practiſed phyſic at Conſtantinople for the ſpace of thirty years, and attended me during my ſtay there; ſpeaking of the plague, expreſſes himſelf in the following manner.

"It is beyond diſpute, that the plague "appears, in a different manner, in dif- "ferent countries; and that it appears "differently, in the ſame country, in "different years; notwithſtanding the pa- "thognomonic, or eſſential ſymptoms, are "conſtantly the ſame. A perſon cannot "die of the plague (ſuch as it appears "among us) inſtantaneouſly. When they "ſtruggle for many days againſt it, and "at laſt tumble down in the ſtreet, and "die ſuddenly, people imagine that they "were only then infected. Such as have "the plague conceal it as long as they "can, and walk about as long as poſſible, "for fear of being abandoned and left "alone.

"The ambient air is no otherwiſe "concerned than as the vehicle which "conveys the venomous particles from "one

"one body into another. The plague "is now more frequent in the Levant "than it was, owing to the great com- "munication, by the commerce all over "the Levant being more extended. The "plague breaks out with great violence "among the trading people of the Greeks, "Armenians and Jews. The Turks are "commonly the laſt of the four nations "infected; but when the plague gets once "among them they ſuffer the moſt by "it, becauſe they take the leaſt care and "precaution, and their families are much "more numerous."

Mr. Mackenzie did not ſcruple going into the houſes viſited with the plague; he avoided only the apartments of the ſick, where the atmoſphere, replete with the effluvia exhaled from their bodies, was ſo capable of conveying the infection.

Perſons have been infected twice, thrice, ſometimes oftner; and the contagion never is extinguiſhed, nor even diminiſhes, till the cold weather comes in.

Mr. Mackenzie has no peculiar treatment for this diſeaſe; except that he preſcribes

ſcribes bleeding and an emetic at the beginning of it; as being uſeful in ſeconding the views of nature, which, by the frequent irritations of the ſtomach at that time, ſeems to intimate a deſire of throwing ſomething off.

To theſe obſervations of Mr. Mackenzie, I ſhall add the remarks of M. Rémond, a French phyſician.

"The plague, ſays he, is a kind of "putrid, burning, fever. The treatment "of this diſorder being ſo well known, "might it not be introduced with good "effect, as a noſtrum for the cure of the "plague? I ſhould apprehend it would "have taken place before this time, if "phyſicians had dared to approach the "diſorder. But the dread of infection "has prevented them from making proper "experiments and developing all the re-"ſources of the medical art."

This, Sir, is all I have to offer on ſo intereſting and diſmal a ſubject. Here, as in treating of other matters, I have given you nothing more than a few ſcattered notes; which I ſend you the

moment I have reviſed and compared them. They form but a very imperfect piece, and what has great occaſion to be abridged and digeſted. I am conſcious there is very little merit, in putting together a number of looſe paſſages; and in giving an account to one's ſelf of thoſe things the imagination has ſelected and regiſtered. But I beg of you to conſider that it was principally for the inſtruction of my children, that I undertook this work; to give them a taſte for ancient literature, and to ſtimulate them to uſeful and agreeable enquiries: which, by occupying the leiſure hours of their youth, might baniſh diſſipation from their minds; and guide them clear of thoſe ſands and ſhoals where ſo many fine geniuſes have been already wrecked.

I am, Sir Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XLI.

From M. Bourlat de Montrédon, to the author, on the ſubject of his nineteenth letter, on the tombs.

PERMIT me now, my dear friend, to acquit myſelf of the promiſe I made you on occaſion of your walks among the tombs *. The deſcription you

* While I was arranging and preparing to publiſh the foregoing letters to M. Bourlat de Montredon, I was favored with the preſent letter from that gentleman, whom I once accompanied to Conſtantinople; and with whom I paſſed the moſt agreeable hours duſ-

ing

you have given in your letter, is very exact, and full of ſentiment: but I ſhould have expected it to be much more extenſive, when I conſider the importance and variety of the objects, which preſent themſelves in that part of the country where you took thoſe ſolitary rambles; particularly, if you directed your route, as I preſume you did, towards the valley of Dolmabacchè, and ſtopt, a little beyond that

ing my reſidence there, particularly in my walks to the tombs. I thought it a duty I owed to the ingenious author to publiſh this letter with my own, in order to give him the credit of the performance, and of the idea which he has ſo judiciouſly choſen, and improved in ſuch a beautiful manner.

The delightful proſpect from theſe tombs, by day, diverts the attention, and ſeparates the ideas which ariſe from the contemplation of theſe diſmal monuments. But night coming on, every other object is obſcured. Our ſcattered thoughts come home; and man turns his eyes inward upon himſelf: The imagination pierces the tombs, and plunges itſelf into eternal night.

that valley, on the heights near the village of Ortakeni, in the neighbourhood of the ſea. This ſituation commands the view of ſeveral cemeteries which form the principal objects of your deſcription; and alſo, of the South and Eaſt Propontis, as far as the iſlands of Marmora. From the ſame point of view may be ſeen, the fineſt part of the provinces of Bithynia, and the Lower Myſia, running along the ſea, from Cape Scutari to the peninſula of Cyzicus. The objects, which terminate this fine view, are, the mountains of Burſa or Pruſa, formerly called Mount Olympus, in Bythynia, the peninſula of Cyzicus, and the iſlands of Marmora; ſo that, by combining thoſe objects, the ſeraglio, the mouth of the Boſphorus, the towns of Scutari and Calcedonia, Prince's Iſlands, and the opening of the gulph of Nicomedia and Mondagna, formerly *Sinus Cinæi*, are all included in one clear point of view.

To anticipate your objections with reſpect to the diſtances of ſome of the furtheſt of theſe places, I have not confided in my

memory; but have meaſured them with exactneſs on my great manuſcript map, which deſcribes the Propontis with its environs, compriſing the Helleſpont, and the Boſphorus, or canal of the Black ſea. According to this chart, which was deſigned on the ſpot by M. de Bonh, an able Daniſh engineer, with whom I was intimately acquainted at Conſtantinople; it appears that the diſtance from Mount Olympus to the place which I have ſuppoſed to be the center of your obſervations, is thirty leagues *; and that the peninſula of Cyzicus, and the iſlands of Marmora, are at pretty near the ſame diſtance. You know that a tolerable eye can eaſily diſtinguiſh theſe three countries, not only from all the heights about Conſtantinople, but even from our houſes in the ſuburbs of Pera, eſpecially with a fine ſetting ſun: any objections on that head, will therefore fall to the ground of themſelves. I underſtood, beſide, that you had formed the plan of tracing every intereſting

* About ſeventy miles.

tereſting object you might encounter in thoſe walks. You have very faithfully performed that part which relates to the tombs; but the ſpace you deſcribe, contains other objects equally worthy the attention of a traveller, whoſe works are ſo replete with philoſophy and inſtruction, as yours. I ſhould think you might add to your deſcription of the tombs, ſome obſervations which I made in examining my chart of the Propontis, for the poſition of the moſt remarkable places, compriſed in the extent of that proſpect I have been mentioning. Though theſe obſervations in ſome degree, reſemble thoſe made by *Grelot* *, reſpecting the ancient cities built on the banks of the Propontis, the application is very different; my purpoſe being to ſhew that there is ſcarce any country in the world, where, in a ſpace ſo limited as the ſuperb view of which I am ſpeaking, ſo many memorable actions have been performed.

* Relation du Voyage de Conſtantinople, in 4to. p. 34.

Among inumerable inſtances, I ſhall relate ſome, which I conſider as ſo many epochas, ſerving to put the learned traveller in mind of the principal revolutions in ſome of the greateſt empires, both ancient and modern.

I. The firſt which preſents itſelf to the mind, is Alexander's paſſage over the Granicus, and the victory that great commander obtained over Darius. Perhaps you will ſay, that the Granicus is not to be diſcovered from the place where I ſuppoſe you ſituated. I agree. But, by previouſly informing the reader, that the river Granicus empties itſelf into the Propontis, between Cape Karaboa and the river of Sataldere, which falls into the ſeas, at the diſtance of three leagues only, from the peninſula of Cyzicus, which you diſcover: his mind, thus prepared, may, very naturally be ſuppoſed to bring to view an event, which not only uſhered in the deſtruction of the Perſian empire, but was the firſt ſtep made by Alexander towards eſtabliſhing that erected upon its ruins.

Theſe

Theſe few words, which are ſufficient by way of reflection, will, doubtleſs, not only awaken in the mind of the reader, ideas of the ancient monarchies of Nineveh, Babylon, the Medes, &c. which were all abſorbed in the empire of Perſia; but alſo bring to his remembrance the ſhort duration of Alexander's empire; the partition of it by his ſucceſſors; and, the diſmembring of it after the battle of Ipſus.

2. The city of *Gebiſeh*, (ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Lybiſſa*, where the aſhes of Hannibal were depoſited, according to the moſt received opinion, though Grelot carries them to Nicomedia) ought to figure among your tombs. This city ſtands near the banks of the Propontis, towards the entrance of the Nicomedian gulf, and about twenty-five miles from Scutari. Nothing can be more delightful than its ſituation; commanding a proſpect of the ſea, on one ſide; and, on the other, a clear view of Nicomedia, and the charming country which ſurrounds it.

Hannibal, after loſing the battle of Zama, in Africa, to Scipio, which put an end to the ſecond Punic war, retired to Carthage. Some years after, being apprehenſive that the Carthaginians would deliver him up to the Romans, he withdrew privately from their city to the court of Antiochus, and at length put himſelf under the protection of Pruſias, king of Bithynia, who, in order to make his court to the Romans, had formed the reſolution of putting him to death. But Hannibal, as you muſt remember, to anticipate the treacherous deſign of that prince, poiſoned himſelf; being always provided with the means for it, which he carried in the ſocket of his ring, as Livy informs us.

3. Mithridates, having ſubdued all Bithynia, meditates an incurſion into Aſia minor, in order to extend his conqueſts on that ſide; and to facilitate the expedition, undertakes the ſiege of the city of Cyzicus, which he inveſts, by land, with an army of three hundred thouſand

thouſand men; while a fleet of four hundred ſhips blocks it up, by ſea *.

Lucullus, whoſe troops did not exceed thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, marches to the relief of the place; but the great ſuperiority of the enemy's forces, not permitting him to hazard an engagement, that cautious general harraſſes them by ſuch briſk, well-timed manœuvres, that in the end he cuts off their communication with their magazines. This judicious ſtroke, joined to the vigorous defence made by the beſieged, obliges Mithridates to abandon his enterprize, by a ſhameful flight, after having lain two years before the town. He is purſued, and his army entirely defeated, near the river Rhindacus †. Lucullus

* See Rollin's Ancient Hiſtory in 4to, vol. 5. l. 23. p. 357.

† The river Rhindacus, now called Michalitza, enters the Boſphorus, near the gulf of Mondagna, oppoſite to the little iſland formerly known by the name of Berbicos, but now by that of Calolima; diſtant about fifty miles from Conſtantinople.

cullus continues to follow, and gains ſeveral victories over this famous enemy of the Romans, and his father-in-law, Tygranes, king of Armenia, who was his ally. But my object is not to particularize the events of that war. It was terminated, as you muſt recollect, by the famous battle which Pompey, the ſucceſſor of Lucullus, gained againſt Mithridates, near mount *Jildy Daghi* *, between Ceſaræa and Angora; and this laſt defeat may be deemed the epocha of the Romans' greateſt ſplendor in the eaſt.

4. Conſtantine the firſt, ſurnamed the great, founds the city of Conſtantinople at Byzantium, and transfers the ſeat of empire to his new and favourite ſpot. It is well known that this eſtabliſhment was, in the end, one of the principal cauſes of the declenſion of the Roman empire in the weſt; particularly by the partition of the empire, made a ſhort time after the time of Jovinianus, between the two emperors, whom, henceforward, we ſhall diſtinguiſh

* The ſtarry mountain.

diſtinguiſh by the titles of emperor of the eaſt, and emperor of the weſt.

5. It is ſurprizing that, among the number of travellers who have publiſhed, and ſtill continue publiſhing, their accounts of Conſtantinople, no one ſhould yet have mentioned the triumph decreed, by the emperor Juſtinian, in 534, to Beliſarius, after he had conquered, and reduced to the emperor's obedience, all the territories poſſeſſed by Gelimer, king of the Vandals, in Africa, and on the Mediterranean. As the diſtinctions granted Beliſarius on that occaſion, deſcribe, in my mind, the recompences of virtue, and at the ſame time do honour to the memory of Juſtinian, I cannot refuſe myſelf the ſatisfaction of relating them in this place. For the conveniency of thoſe travellers, who are not accuſtomed to carry with them thoſe hiſtories where the detail of that triumph is inſerted, I ſhall make an extract from the deſcription given of it by M. Hardion, in his *Hiſtoire Univerſelle*.

I wiſh

I wiſh all thoſe, who viſit Conſtantinople, may feel the ſame pleaſure I experienced from reading the detail of that triumph in the Circus, then called *Hippodromus*, where the moſt eſſential part of the ceremony was performed.

Juſtinian, having decreed the ſame honours to Beliſarius, which, in ancient Rome, were beſtowed upon commanders who had obtained the moſt ſignal victories; this general traverſed the whole city of Conſtantinople, ſeated on a triumphal car; an honour which no ſubject had enjoyed for ſix hundred years before. In his train marched Gelimer, king of the Vandals, dreſſed in a purple robe, ſurrounded with the princes of his family, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the Vandals, either by their birth, or the beauty of their figure. Behind the car were borne maſſy thrones of gold, with every circumſtance of pomp; an immenſe quantity of ſilver and precious ſtones; the ſacred veſſels which Titus carried away from the temple of Jeruſalem; and all the

the ſpoils that Genſeric had brought from Rome. As ſoon as Gelimer arrived at the Circus, where Juſtinian was ready ſeated, on a throne erected for that purpoſe, they obliged the captive king to diſrobe himſelf, and fall proſtrate before the emperor.

The ſame author relates, that in a ſecond triumph, which the empetor was deſirous of giving to Beliſarius, as a further reward for his ſervices and fidelity, he ordered, that the general ſhould be carried in a chair inlaid with ivory, from whence he threw great quantities of money among the people, being part of the ſpoils ariſing from his victories.

6. The Cruſaders, in 1204, ſeizing on Conſtantinople, and proclaiming Baldwin, earl of Flanders, emperor of Greece, he was ſolemnly crowned, on the 23d of May, the ſame year, in the church of St. Sophia. The French, by means of this election, were maſters of Conſtantinople, until the year 1261, when Michael Paleologus, the emperor, and alſo tutor

to

to the young emperor Laſcaris, by a ſecret correſpondence, retook the city. But this new emperor was but a phantom of the firſt, and had in no degree the ſame power or reſources. The princes of the cruſade had ſo weakened the eaſtern empire by their manner of carrying on the war, that the Greeks, in taking poſſeſſion of it again, recovered no more than the ſkeleton of the ancient empire.

7. It was in a town of Bithynia, called *Soghut* or *Sughut* *, that Oſman or Othman, the founder of the Turkiſh empire, called after him, the *Ottoman*, drew his firſt breath. He was the firſt Sultan of the illuſtrious race of Oſmanli, that ever reigned in Conſtantinople. Authors are greatly divided concerning the origin of this prince. Moſt of the Turkiſh hiſtorians give him an illuſtrious deſcent, and of the greateſt antiquity, that hiſtory has yet pretended to trace. They make him deſcended,

* The inhabitants of Soghut enjoy ſeveral privileges and exemptions on this account.

deſcended, in a direct line, and from male to male, without any interruption, from Japhet, the third ſon of Noah. On the other hand, ſeveral Chriſtian authors repreſent him as ſprung from a low mean family; and inſiſt, that he himſelf was, in the beginning, no better than the chief of a band of robbers and aſſaſſins. I ſhall not diſcuſs theſe opinions, ſo diametrically oppoſite to each other, one of which, I believe, to be as much overcharged with flattery, as the other is replete with virulence and acrimony. I ſhall only obſerve, that the authors in moſt repute, both Mahometan and Chriſtian, cited by prince Cantimir in his *Hiſtoire de l'Empire Ottoman* *, unanimouſly agree in Oſman's being the grandſon of Soliman Scha, in whom all the world recognized the legitimate repreſentative of the houſe of Othmanides. The ſame prince Cantimir adds, that the moſt ſenſible and learned men among the Turks, readily acknowledge, that all the hiſtories of their own country, and of

* See the preface to this work. Tome I. 1743.

of the deſcent of Oſman, prior to Soliman Scha, ſavor ſtrongly of fable *. This Soliman, who is ſuppoſed to be originally of Khariſm †, was the abſolute chief of a tribe of Oguzian Turks ‡, lord of the principality of Nera §, and ſovereign of a province of the

* Ibid page 19.

† Khariſm, or Kouarezm, a country of Aſia, ſituated between the Caſpian ſea and the river Oxus; now belonging to the Uſbeck Tartars.

‡ A tribe, formerly, in great eſtimation among the Muſſulmen, and known by the appellation of the Oguzian tribe; ſo called from Ogus-Khan, an ancient king of the Moguls, and the founder of it. He was grandſon of the Mogul Khan, chief of the ancient and firſt Dynaſty of the Mogul emperors. Bib. Ori. d'Herbelot, p. 685.

§ Where is this city of Nera? I know of no geographer who takes any notice of it. The hiſtorians, who mention it, tell us only, that it was ſituated near the Caſpian ſea; ſome add, that it was taken and ruined by the Tartars, who

the kingdom of Khariſm; of which, at firſt, he was no more than Satrapa or governor; but he uſurped the ſovereignty of it, a ſhort time before the invaſion of Gengis-Khan. It was in the courſe of this invaſion, that Soliman, too weak to make head againſt the numerous armies of the Mogul Tartars, abandoned his country. This brave Khariſman, with his children, and the Oguzian tribe, who all followed their chief, made ſeveral incurſions into Perſia and Aſia Minor; till at length he puſhed his conqueſts as far as the Euphrates; but, in a raſh attempt to paſs that river on horſeback, he was unfortunately drowned, in the year 1219. Ertogrul, one of his ſons, being acknowledged by the Oguzians for their chief, carried war into ſeveral parts of Natolia, and principally into Bithynia, among the Greeks, whoſe territories joined to thoſe of Aladin, the Sultan of Iconium, their inveterate enemy. The inroads

who followed Gengis-Khan, and had juſt deſtroyed the city of Balch. The Perſian hiſtorians confirm this account.

roads of Ertogrul into that country, could not but be highly pleaſing to the Sultan; accordingly, the chief, availing himſelf of it, ſent an ambaſſador to Aladin, to aſk his protection, and make, at the ſame time, an offer of his own ſervices. The Sultan, informed of the merit and brave exploits of the valiant chief of the Oguzians, deſired him to repair to his court, with a view of attaching him to his intereſt. He afterwards made uſe of him with ſucceſs, againſt the Mogul Tartars, who, at that time, were laying waſte the Sultan's provinces. Aladin made him generaliſſimo of his armies, and entruſted him with the government of Galatia, where, according to ſome hiſtorians, Ertogrul died, at a very advanced age, in the year 1281; leaving a ſon, named Oſman, afterwards the firſt emperor of the Turks, whoſe deſcendants now reign, and are ſtill called by the name of Oſmanli. As the events of that emperor's reign are well known to you, I ſhall not ſtop to re ate them. A few words concerning

cerning his elevation to the empire are all I ſhall trouble you with.

After the death of Ertogrul, Oſman his ſon, who ſucceeded him in the favor of the ſultan Aladin, ſignalized his zeal for the ſervice of that prince, on ſo many important occaſions, that Aladin made him the ſole confident of all his affairs, and conferred on him the firſt dignities of the empire. Nothing was done at the Sultan's court but by his counſels; he enjoyed the exerciſe of regal power in every inſtance, and was a ſovereign in all reſpects, but the name. Yet ſo great was his prudence, and perhaps his integrity, that during twenty-three years, that he was in the ſervice of Aladin, he never diſcovered the leaſt deſire of an independent authority. But his maſter dying without children, the aſpiring Oſman availed himſelf of that opportunity, to execute a deſign he had a long time meditated, and reſolved to attempt whenever the Sultan's death ſhould happen. He longed to immortalize his memory by the eſtabliſhment of a monarchy, which ſhould bear

bear his own name. With this view, after the Sultan's death, he convoked the great men of the empire, to divide with them the ſtates of Aladin. The greateſt part of Bithynia, and ſome of the adjacent countries, fell to his lot. Theſe territories, with the inheritance he had received from his father, having put him in a condition to give law, not only to the great men of Iconium, but all to the princes of Aſia Minor, he ſoon cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor of the Turks; and, in the year 1300, fixed the ſeat of government at *Yegni chehir* *, a little town in Bithynia. After a reign of about twenty ſix years, he died, at the age of ſixty nine †.

Oſman

* Anciently called Neapolis, according to prince Cantimir. It is about twenty-four miles from Burſa, and ſituated between that city and Nicea, in a large plain extending from mount Olympus, to the mouth of the river Sacharia, formerly Sangar.

† Moſt hiſtorians ſay that Oſman died at Burſa, and give him the credit of taking

that

Oſman greatly extended his dominions by new conqueſts. The free exerciſe of religion, which he confirmed to the people reduced under his government, contributed, no doubt, greatly to the advancement of his new monarchy. The objects of his enterpriſes were great, and the events always ſucceſsful: as a guard for his perſon, and to keep his people to their duty, he eſtabliſhed a corps, compoſed of the flower of his troops, which, under the reign of Amurath the Firſt, his grandſon, were called *Janiſſaries of the Porte.*

Moſt of the oriental hiſtorians agree in giving to Oſman all the qualities neceſſary

that city. But prince Cantimir has ſufficiently ſhewn the contrary, by proving that the conqueror of that city was the ſultan Orchan, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Oſman, who made himſelf maſter of the place, a few days before the death of his father, and was the firſt who fixed the imperial ſeat there.

Hiſt. de l'Empire Ott. p. 58. 84.

neceſſary to form a great prince; they particularly extol his benevolence. It is to perpetuate the remembrance of this virtue, that the Turks, at the acceſſion of their emperors, never omit to wiſh them the benevolence of Oſman.

8. One of the greateſt ſtrokes of fortune, and the moſt aſtoniſhing events the hiſtory of the Eaſt has furniſhed us with, is that memorable battle near the city of Burſa, or Pruſa, in 1401, where Tamerlane obtained a complete victory over the arrogant and fiery Bajazet, ſurnamed *the Thunderbolt*. The Turkiſh annals, collected and digeſted at Conſtantinople, by prince Cantimir, inform us, that theſe two conquerors, at the head of the moſt numerous armies, Aſia had ever ſeen ſince the time of Xerxes*, met in the plains of Burſa; and that it was in the environs of this city, the capital of Bithynia, that Tamerlane after a moſt obſtinate

* Tamerlane's army conſiſted of between ſeven and eight hundred thouſand men; that of Bajazet did not exceed five hundred and fifty thouſand.

obſtinate reſiſtance, routed the army of Bajazet, who was brought a captive to the feet of his conqueror *.

The ſame annals tell us, that Tamerlane, before the battle, remained ſeveral days encamped with his whole army near the city of Yegni chehir, and that immediately after victory, declared for him, he entered the city of Burſa in triumph.

Notwithſtanding this, ſcarcely any two hiſtorians, who have mentioned this famous battle, whether Perſians, Arabians, or Chriſtians of the Weſtern empire, agree as to the place where it was fought. Some pretend it was in Meſopotamia, on the banks of the Euphrates; others, in Galatia, in the neighbourhood of Ancyra, at the diſtance of two hundred miles from Burſa. The diverſity of theſe opinions gives room to ſuſpect, that the authors of them wrote upon ſlight grounds. I ſhall therefore adhere to the tradition of the Turkiſh annaliſts, who

* The action was ſo ſharp and bloody, that the Tartars loſt two hundred thouſand men, and the Turks one hundred and forty thouſand.

do not vary either with regard to the fact, or any of the circumſtances attending it. Their teſtimony is ſtill the leſs to be ſuſpected of partiality, as they faithfully relate what is moſt humiliating to their own nation in the defeat of Bajazet. I can quote, beſide, as an authority of the greateſt weight, what Mauro Cordato, and Petis de la Croix, the father, ſays of this event *: they have both adopted the opinions of the Turkiſh annaliſts.

The authority of the elder Petis appears to me, preferable to that of his ſon, the tranſlator of Chereffed in Ali's hiſtory of the life of Tamerlane, in the Perſian language; ſince the firſt conforms to that of the national hiſtorians, who always muſt be better inſtructed for ſuch a work than foreigners; and alſo, becauſe La Croix, the father, was much better verſed in the hiſtory and languages, of the Eaſt, than his ſon *. With reſpect

* In his Etat de l'Empire Ottoman, which he has tranſlated from the writings of a Turkiſh ſolitary. Paris 1695. p. 2.

* He had made ſeven voyages into Turkey; which, with the long ſtay he made in that country

ſpect to the event itſelf, what I am moſt ſtruck with, is that flow of generoſity in the diſpoſition of Tamerlane, ſo little to be expected in a wild Scythian, and one, who, according to the Turkiſh annals, had treated his captive with great indignity. After a few days ſpent in rejoicings for the victory, he ordered one of the ſons of Bajazet, called Muſa or Moyſe, to be brought to him in the city of Burſa; and ſaid: *Receive the inheritance of thy father; a ſoul, truly royal, knows equally how to conquer kingdoms, and reſtore them.*

Tamerlane then ordered him to be acknowledged Sultan of Aſia. Was it from real magnanimity of ſoul, from mere oſtentation of greatneſs, or from motives of policy, that the vanquiſher of Bajazet treated, ſo generouſly, the ſon of his captive? It is a queſtion I ſhall leave for your deciſion; my intention is only to relate facts, without pretending to judge of them.

country in the ſervice of Lewis XIV. afforded him the beſt opportunities of information. Mauro Cordato, whoſe memoirs he copied, was interpreter to the Porte.

9. The defeat of the Turkiſh army by Tamerlane, at the battle of Burſa, and the civil war lighted up, a ſhort time after, between the ſons of Bajazet *, who diſputed for the throne of their father, reduced the Ottoman empire to the laſt extremity. But, notwithſtanding, when every

* Bajazet had four ſons, Muſtapha, Soliman, Muſa, and Mahomet. The firſt periſhed in the battle with Tamerlane. Soliman and Muſa (or Moyſe) diſputed together for the ſucceſſion of their father's throne, during the ſpace of ſeven years. The war, which the ambition of theſe princes, to govern ſingly, had lighted up, continued to diſtract the empire, until the year 1413, when Mahomet, a younger brother, having ſurvived them both, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor of the Turks in Europe and in Aſia, and aſſumed the name of Mahomet the Firſt. The Turkiſh hiſtorians give the appellation of interregnum to the time which elapſed between the death of Bajazet, and the acceſſion of Mahomet. They do not reckon either Soliman or Muſa among their emperors, becauſe neither of them poſſeſſed the whole empire; one having reigned in Aſia only; the other in Europe. Mahomet the Firſt is therefore conſidered as the immediate ſucceſſor of Bajazet.

every thing ſeemed to conſpire its ruin, we ſee it riſe from the blows it had received; and, on a ſudden, ſhine forth with greater luſtre than ever, in the reign of Mahomet, about the year 1413, and of Amurath II. his ſucceſſor, in 1521. But Mahomet II. ſon of Amurath, raiſed the Ottoman empire to a pitch of glory and power, hitherto unknown. All his ſteps are marked with conqueſts; he puts an end to the Greek empire, by making himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople, which he carries by aſſault, in 1453, and transfers the ſeat of his government, ſoon after, to that city; having firſt cauſed the creſcent to be erected on the church of St. Sophia. If the Greeks had known how to avail themſelves of theſe times of trouble, and the commotions among their neighbours, they might have prevented the calamities which afterwards befel them; and would not at this day have groaned beneath the galling weight of the chains forged for them by their victorious maſters. But, blinded by fanaticiſm, they could not ſee the ſtrides making by a power conſpired againſt the name of Chriſtian; they continued

tinued to worry each other with vain diſputes, and ſuch queſtions of controverſy, as led them into eternal diſſenſions and diſcord. Theſe diviſions, in the end, proved the deſtruction of the Greeks, and ſerved to eſtabliſh the Turkiſh empire upon a ſolid foundation.

Here, my dear friend, you have a ſlight ſketch of the great ſcenes, of which the country before your eyes was the theatre, and ſtill ſerves to remind us. If you are deſirous of drawing any moral reflections, relative to the ſituation of your walk, retrace thoſe wretched days, when the Eaſtern empire was a prey to revolts and ſeditions; and to tyrants who tore it into pieces to divide it amongſt themſelves. Obſerve its tottering ſtate, down to the epocha, when it became the prey of the then warlike Turks. Conſider how often the Ottoman power has made all Europe, and even Aſia, tremble; how, notwithſtanding all the loſſes it ſuffered at the concluſion of the laſt, and in the beginning of the preſent, century, it ſuſtained itſelf glorioufly in the laſt war, which was at length terminated

to its advantage, by the treaty of Belgrade, concluded under the guarantee, and yb the mediation, of France *. You were an eye-witneſs, as well as myſelf, upon the occaſion of the breaking out of that war, againſt which the Porte was not prepared, of the reſources, activity, and perſeverance of this empire; and, above all, the ſucceſs of its principal army, commanded by the Grand Vizir in perſon. I am therefore inclined to think, that the Ottoman empire, though fallen from its firſt ſplendor, ſtands in need of nothing, but to know how to make a proper diſpoſition of its powers; and that it has nothing to fear, unleſs from the want of diſcipline, and the ſpirit of mutiny, which prevail among its troops.

But, while taken up with theſe reflections, you are continuing your walk among the tombs, the ſun finiſhes its courſe. Already the moſt diſtant objects of your attention are in the ſhade; and the full moon,

* L' Hiſtorie des Negociations pour la paix conclue a Belgrade le 18 Sep. 1739. par M. L. Abbé Laugier. Paris, 1768, in 12mo.

moon, riſing on the hills of Chryſopolis *, with its ſoft light opens to your view thoſe innumerable funeral monuments ſcattered round Scutari. My imagination tranſports me into the midſt of them. The deſcription of them, with which you have favoured me, excites that natural feeling, thoſe pathetic ſentiments, you ſo well know how to image with your pen. If you will condeſcend to colour the portrait, of which I now ſend you the feeble deſign, and add it to your own, it will furniſh me with an aſſemblage of intereſting ideas, the value of which I well know, by the pleaſure I have already experienced from them.

Ma eccomi ſbrigato dal impegno mio verſo di lei; e altro non mi reſta che di terminar queſta lunghiſſima carta, pregando V. S. mio ſignore, di credermi, di cuore, ed anima, tutto ſuo, &c. &c.

Paris, &c.

* The golden city; the ancient name of Scutari.

FINIS.

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